DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 101 238 CG 009 472

AUTHOR Koon, Jeff
TITLE Types, Traits, and Transitions: The Lives of Four-Year College Students.
INSTITUTION California Univ., Berkeley. Center for Research and Development in Higher Education.
SPONS AGENCY Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Cooperative Research Program.
PUB DATE 74
GRANT OEG-6-10-106
NOTE 207p.
AVAILABLE FROM Publications Department, Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, University of California, 2150 Shattuck Avenue, 5th floor, Berkeley, California 99704

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.76 HC-$10.78 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS *Behavior Change; *College Students; Higher Education; Individual Development; Institutional Environment; Research Projects; *Student Attitudes; *Student Characteristics; *Typology

ABSTRACT

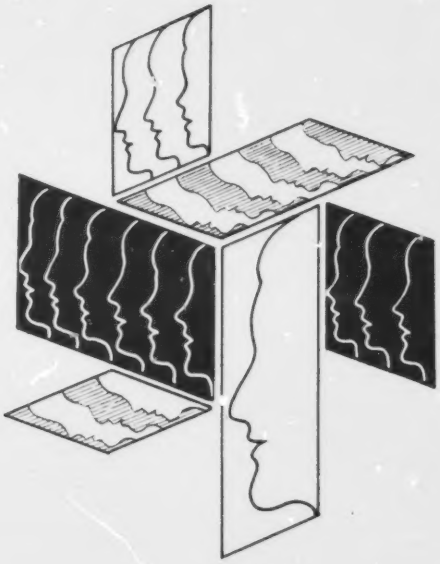
Because the impact of college on students is not uniform, this work uses a typological approach to come to grips more adequately with the question of what happens to students who attend four-year colleges. Change, development, and senior "outcomes" are examined for each of 13 groups. The groupings were devised based on a statistical analysis of the students' responses to a vast array of questions about their attitudes, beliefs, commitments, and behaviors. The statistical data was supplemented by yearly personal interviews with a subsample who were studied more intensively. As a result of findings, the author stresses the need for colleges to revamp their power structures in an effort to humanize their institutions and provide students with decision making power. (Author/PC)

ED101238

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SCOPE OF INTEREST NOTICE
The ERIC Facility has assigned this document for processing to: CG HE
In our judgement, this document is also of interest to the clearinghouses noted to the right. Indexing should reflect their special points of view.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY



Types, Traits, and Transitions: The Lives of Four-Year College Students

JEFF KOON

CENTER FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CENTER FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

The Center for Research and Development in Higher Education is engaged in research designed to assist individuals and organizations responsible for American higher education to improve the quality, efficiency, and availability of education beyond the high school. In the pursuit of these objectives, the Center conducts studies which: 1) use the theories and methodologies of the behavioral sciences; 2) seek to discover and to disseminate new perspectives on educational issues and new solutions to educational problems; 3) seek to add substantially to the descriptive and analytical literature on colleges and universities; 4) contribute to the systematic knowledge of several of the behavioral sciences, notably psychology, sociology, economics, and political science; and 5) provide models of research and development activities for colleges and universities planning and pursuing their own programs in institutional research.

The research reported herein was supported by Grant No. OE-6-10-106 with the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, under the provision of the Cooperative Research Program. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My special thanks to Paul Heist, Joanne Kowalski, and David Whittaker for making this work possible and for other help as well. Thanks also to Susan Johnson and Pat Dickerson. And to many other sources of stimulation and support: Anita Medal, Milly Henry, Sarah Cirese, John Bilorusky, and Kathleen Mock. And to the Center for Research and Development in Higher Education — Lyman Glenny, Gil Paltridge, and Leland L. Medsker, among others.

And very special thanks also to the students who responded to the questionnaires and attitude inventories, and to those interviewees who more intimately shared their lives with us.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Prologue: Briefer Descriptions of the 13 Groups	iii
I. INTRODUCTION: THE RATIONALE OF THE TYPOLOGY AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO REALITY	1
The Concern of the Study	1
The Purpose of the Overall Study	3
The Methodology	4
The Broader Focus	5
THE GROUPS IN RELATION TO REALITY	6
The "Average" Response	7
Table 1. The 11 Dimensions from Which the O-typology Emerged	8
The Scores of the Groups	13
A Final Introductory Note	14
Table 2. Mean Standard Scores of the 13 O-types on the 11 Defining Dimensions	15
Table 3. Significant Differences between O-types on the 11 Definitional Variables	16
II. THE O-TYPES	
The Societally Alienated	18
The More Generally Alienated	25
The Socially Alienated Materialists	31
The Emerging Women	36
The Religiously Liberal Subject-Oriented Achievers	42
The Intellectuals	47
The Average Students Who Changed	54
The Emotionally Dissonant Intellectuals	61
The Vocational-Professional Achievers	68
The Inexperienced Socials	74
The Confirmed "Collegiates"	80
The Closed and Unchanging Males	87
The Tradition-Bound Vocationalists	93

Page

III. THE STUDENTS AT FOUR DIFFERENT INSTITUTIONS 99

Table 4. The Frequency Distribution of Students by O-type Classifications in Seven Schools 101
College of the Pacific, University of the Pacific 102
Stevenson College, University of California at Santa Cruz 109
University of California at Berkeley 117
Raymond College, University of the Pacific 125

IV. CONCLUSION: A DEVELOPMENTAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE PROBLEMS, NEEDS, AND POSSIBILITIES FOR HIGHER EDUCATION 132

The Problem 132
The Necessity for a More Holistic Approach to Development 137

AVENUES TO PROMOTE DEVELOPMENTAL HOLISM 140

Relevance, Learning, and Motivation 141
Societal Relevance 143
The Community 145
Self, Society, and Culture 147
Research 149
The Student as a Human Being 149
A Final Concluding Note 152

APPENDICES

Appendix A. The Dimensions, the O-typology, the Data 155
Table 1. Standard Deviations of the Scores of the 13 Groups on the 11 Dimensions 161
Table 2. Correlations Between the 11 Defining Dimensions of the O-typology 164
Table 3. Estimated Reliabilities for the 11 Dimensions 166

Appendix B. Items of the Senior Questionnaire and the Constituents of the Factors of the 11 Defining Dimensions 167

Appendix C. Factor Loadings of the OPI Scales on the Senior OPI Factors and the OPI Change Factors 170
Table 4. Varimax Factors of the Senior Omnibus Personality Inventory (OPI) Scale Scores 181
Table 5. Varimax Factors of the Senior-minus-Freshman OPI Scale Scores 182

RELEVANT REFERENCES 185

PROLOGUE: BRIEFER DESCRIPTIONS OF THE 13 GROUPS

Because the impact of college on students is not uniform, this work uses a typological approach to more adequately come to grips with the question of what happens to students who attend four-year colleges. Change, development, and senior "outcomes" are examined for each of 13 groups. The groupings were devised with a statistical analysis of the students' responses to a vast array of questions about their attitudes, beliefs, commitments, and behaviors. The statistical data was supplemented by yearly personal interviews with a subsample who were studied more intensively.

This section presents a briefer description of each of the 13 groups or "types" described at greater length in the body of the text. While less detailed, these more simplistic characterizations are useful for quick review and a more easily encompassing perspective on the students as a whole. (Each group is described relative to the sample as a whole.) For each group, described below, the first paragraph highlights qualities or circumstances characteristic of the group when they were freshmen. The second paragraph conveys their situation as seniors.

While some students shared characteristics of several types or did not very adequately fit into any type, most of the students were more appropriately assigned to the groups described below. However, there remains considerable variation within each type, and

no one fits any "type" perfectly.

The Introduction (and the Appendices) provides information necessary to more fully understand the context of the groups and more fully describes the basis for the procedure used to establish the groupings.

O-type 1: THE SOCIALLY ALIENATED

As entrants the students in O-type 1 (58% males) had very weak ties with religion, were relatively independent in their perspectives on life and the world around them, and were liberal, politically and personally. They were open to their inner feelings, tended to live for the moment rather than in the future, and were not very "well-adjusted" to the demands of conventional society, but they were trying to be or find themselves.

During college they tended to be alienated from and dissatisfied with academia, society, and superficial or role-bound conventional relationships. Their alienation from conventional channels but not all conventional rewards was a stimulus to search elsewhere, but it limited the range of their efforts and was related to some of their anger and frustration. While remaining open to ideas, experimental, and somewhat involved with their own intellectual interests, they were not much involved with or influenced by faculty, put very little emphasis on vocation or academic effort, and at graduation most did not have a potential niche in society. They had a strong affiliation with the "counter-culture" and remained less "well-adjusted" than most, but became more self-acceptant. They had some attachment to humanitarianism, liberal-radical goals of social justice, and to changing social customs, but these beliefs were only sometimes matched by action. Their interpersonal lives were also somewhat characterized by passivity and noncommitment, but in general they made considerable progress and learned a lot about themselves and others. Their lives were perhaps most devoted to doing their "own thing," and they were still open and searching for new life styles.

O-type 2: THE MORE GENERALLY ALIENATED

Most of the students in O-type 2 (56% females) came from backgrounds with difficult personal or interpersonal circumstances--homes with domination, little emotionality, lack of communication, inadequate adaptations, divorce, insularity, and even death in the family. Sometimes poverty or the apparent threat of economic insecurity was also a problem, especially for the black students. The group was only somewhat less "well-adjusted" than average, but these adjustments were usually narrow and defensive rather than representative of more adequate coping behavior.

These students had a "trauma"-filled life, with failure, continuing problems, worsening "adjustments," or cracking defenses in their attempts to cope with themselves, interpersonal relationships, academia, society, life, and ethnic/community values versus a more self-centered life. While not particularly able to cope with faculty, they were only somewhat low in stressing vocation, academic achievement, and involvement with their own intellectual interests, but personal problems and concerns often consumed much of their energy. Most did not "succeed" in more conventional channels nor in exploration and implementation of new ideas and approaches. They were very dissatisfied socially, academically, and in general with their college experience. While they maintained an involvement with social activities that was only somewhat low, their social skills were weak and they were also often afraid to be open with others. They became more anxious and socially introverted. Despite some openness to their inner selves and the fears and feelings associated with their difficulties, insightful reintegration of their learning was usually limited by their conflicts, struggle to maintain defenses, and a passive alienation. For example, despite average change in religious affiliation, personal and political liberalism, and in the independence with which they viewed life and the world around them, they often could not make effective personal use of these changes, and many remained trapped in particularly narrow approaches to life or drifted without moorings.

O-type 3: THE SOCIALLY ALIENATED MATERIALISTS

The students in O-type 3 (56% males) tended to come from somewhat lower socioeconomic strata, but were seldom blacks. Their goals in college were primarily "practical" ones involving materialism and status. They were very socially introverted, least "well-adjusted," rarely had a good sense of their inner selves, and often maintained defensive shells to protect themselves against loneliness or admission of interpersonal needs (which they had little vision of fulfilling).

Although these students participated in very little social activity, they expressed average satisfaction, socially, with their college experience. While many in time began to try to discard roles to be more real with others, their relationships were usually superficial. They cared little about insight or self-development, and were too insecure to be very experimental or exploratory. While gaining a little self-confidence and becoming more independent of direct parental demands and somewhat more autonomous generally, they remained introverted and not very "well-adjusted." Their religious affiliation remained average (i.e., liberalized) but seemed to have little connection with their continued cynical, self-centered, and nonhumanitarian attachment to materialism and status-seeking. They were only somewhat closed to ideas, but had almost no intellectual interests of their own. Beyond learning required skills with an average but passive commitment, they had little involvement or influence by faculty and were at average satisfied with the rather impersonal education they apparently preferred. They had little interest in political issues, especially disliked disruption of their education, and in defending the status quo they came to rank among the more conservative politically.

O-type 4: THE EMERGING WOMEN

As entrants the students in O-type 4 (89% females) were somewhat "well-adjusted" social extroverts. But there was a somewhat above-average degree of sociopolitical or cultural sophistication in the home, and they were esthetically sensitive and fairly intellectual. They were somewhat open to ideas and general learning but had rather low academic aspirations.

These students changed considerably during college. They became more open to their inner selves and feelings, more independent in their perspectives on life and the world around them, more open to living, and less attached to religion. They made considerable progress in their capacities to form deeper interpersonal relationships (an area they emphasized) and better understood their interactions with others. They also became much less others-oriented and more fully self-directed, and gradually reduced their defensively stronger but more closed stance of "adjustment." While retaining an attachment to humanitarian values, they became much more liberal-radical, politically and in their personal values, and there were often questions about how they would relate to the "system." Despite their intellectual capacities and an average degree of influence by and satisfaction with professors, they were not very involved with academia and much of their learning was acquired through experience. Their concern with studying, acquiring a vocation, and further schooling was also below average; but they were quite open to and actively involved with ideas and had important intellectual interests of their own. On the whole, they came to lead lives far more integral

to their underlying feelings and changing beliefs, fashioned a more personalized and independent identity, and continued to be open to further learning and growth.

O-type 5: THE RELIGIOUSLY LIBERAL SUBJECT-ORIENTED ACHIEVERS

While more average in political liberalism, as entrants the students in O-type 5 (62% males) were quite liberal with regard to religion, somewhat tolerant of modern morality, and fairly independent in their perspectives on life and the world around them.

They proved to be hard-working, subject-oriented achievers, people who strove to get good grades (and did) and be competent at their subject matter. They were fairly likely to be interested in pursuing further schooling, usually in science or social science. However, they were somewhat less involved with (but no less influenced by) faculty than most, and not interested solely in money, social status, or acquiring a vocation. While fairly open to ideas in general, they were usually tied to the structured academic (and societal) system of rewards. Development of their own intellectual interests was only average. Politically, they liberalized somewhat but remained about average. While most had difficulty being open about themselves, some seemed to be progressing more satisfactorily in their interpersonal lives, although many (especially among the males) had trouble beginning heterosocial relationships and seemed to take refuge in their academic efforts. They were generally not very self-assertive or personally experimental, and they became somewhat more introverted. Despite the stimulus to evaluate the deeper meanings of life provided by unfilled interpersonal needs, most struggled slowly forward and remained rather uninsightfully entrapped in assumed achievement. However, a few sought to ease obviously overdriven strivings, many became more concerned with personal satisfaction and contribution to society or mankind, and some began to search in new areas as well. They expressed a nearly average satisfaction with their college experience as a whole.

O-type 6: THE INTELLECTUALS

As entrants the students in O-type 6 (61% females) were very open to learning from and very involved with abstract ideas. They came from somewhat more liberal homes, were more liberal, personally and politically, and were very interested in political affairs. They were not very affiliated with religion, were quite independent in their

perspectives on life and the world around them, and were fairly open to their inner feelings. Interpersonally, they were fairly competent and somewhat socially extrovertive.

These students remained highly intellectual in orientation throughout college. They had little difficulty with academic achievement (and got the best grades), but their interest in power and status as well as a commitment to constructive social change and humanitarian values, and a concern for deeper understanding, proved to be sources of frustration. While highly involved with faculty, they were only marginally satisfied with their college experience, and their only average level of influence by faculty or interest in further schooling as well as their increased anxiety reflected their various questions and tensions. They came to be somewhat thrown back upon themselves, and although some too-narrowly confined their efforts to academic or intellectual channels, most only somewhat neglected interpersonal and nonintellectual avenues of growth. They came to emphasize greater realism in interpersonal relationships, gained in self-knowledge, were highly involved in their own intellectual interests, developed more sophisticated outlooks on life and the world around them, and came to feel more confident and competent. They became more liberal-radical, personally and politically, and more alienated from the "system" and aware of society's problems.

O-type 7: THE AVERAGE STUDENTS WHO CHANGED

The students in O-type 7 (70% males) as entrants seemed to be rather "average" students not readily distinguishable from the others in the sample. Yet like students more developmentally advanced, they apparently sought to learn, grow, and seek realism in relationships, rather than pursuing inculcated goals or trying to gain approval by enacting some "acceptable" role.

While only at average satisfied with their college experience, these students underwent substantial change. They became much more independent in their perspectives on life and the world around them, much less affiliated with conventional religion, and they came to take a more alienated and liberal-radical view of society. They became more complex in their thought processes, more open to ideas, and fairly intellectual in a general way. Their broad orientation to intellectuality and growth precluded a strong attachment to the restricted forms of academic learning and achievement. They tended to be no more than average involved with or committed to faculty, grades, further education, or vocation (for which they often searched widely). However, they continued to have a propensity to cope with society and as seniors usually had values associated with humanitarianism, social justice,

reform of academia and society, and continued personal growth. While they became somewhat better "adjusted" (and still tended to equate their relatively reasonable ego ideals with an underlying self which was not so pure or fully developed), they also showed a substantial increase in openness to their inner feelings and selves, and to the esthetic side of their nature. On the whole, their interpersonal involvements were broad and reflected a growing competence of many kinds.

O-type 8: THE EMOTIONALLY DISSONANT INTELLECTUALS

The students in O-type 8 (71% females) were social and academic-intellectual leaders in their (often small-town) high schools. While generally "well-adjusted," fairly religious, and not particularly independent in their perspectives on life and the world around them, they were quite involved with esthetics and with ideas in general.

Although their emphasis on vocation, studying, and further schooling was only average, these students were very involved with and influenced by faculty and got good grades. They also emphasized their own intellectual interests and became more independent in their perspectives on life and the world around them. They became much more liberal politically, but tended not to lose faith in the "system." They were also very satisfied with their college experience. However, their personal roots in and continued attachment to religion and older mores and a somewhat nonexploratory adherence to structured conventional paths, left their apparent intellectual learning and indeperdence largely unsupported by experience or a deeper understanding. They maintained the same others-oriented style of "adjustment," which inhibited insight and included status- and approval-seeking (in a varied field of significant others and demands), and this contrast with their intellects created considerable inner conflict and confusion. While some emphasis on self-awareness was evident and they became more aware of their inner feelings and impulses, they were not usually very comfortable facing themselves or simply being open with others. While future change toward a new balance between the modern world and their emotional roots did not seem precluded, most had not become aware of the necessity for deeper self-examination and personal work to bring about a better equilibrium.

O-type 9: THE VOCATIONAL-PROFESSIONAL ACHIEVERS

Although they did not always have a particular vocation in mind, the students in O-type 9 (84% males) came to college with somewhat high

aspirations and an underlying hope to "be" something. While they had some degree of "masculine," role-centered closure to learning and growth, their social extroversion and achievement orientation helped to facilitate their adjustment to faculty and academia.

These students "successfully" emphasized a range of conventional interests and were fairly satisfied with their college experience. They usually stressed studying, grades, and pursuit of high-status occupations, and were quite involved with faculty. While rather average in conservatism, religiosity, and autonomy, and in their change in each of these areas, contemporary intellectual concerns and openness to ideas in general tended to remain somewhat underdeveloped. The projected future for most was concerned not with identity but with further schooling, finances, and sometimes marriage. Although they were usually somewhat involved in and "successful" at traditional social activities, they were not very practiced at realism or equality in relationships and were rather chauvinistic. They usually lacked insight. In their interpersonal relationships, persistent achievement orientation and desire for status, they seemed in part motivated by insecurity, needs to prove themselves, and feelings of inferiority. However, some of these students were somewhat more broadly developed; their pursuit of conventional gratifications also brought unexpected personal change, such that they also began to put more emphasis on other forms of self-development and on contribution to society or mankind through their professions-to-be.

O-type 10: THE INEXPERIENCED SOCIALS

The students in O-type 10 (78% females) were very dependent on parents and (often smaller) home-town and social mores for their perspectives on life and the world around them, and tended to come from backgrounds in which their independence was discouraged, often by a dominating father or family. They were fairly strongly affiliated with conventional religion, somewhat conservative personally, and not very open to their inner feelings, but they were not particularly "well-adjusted." They were not very open to learning from ideas, had values that were fairly "practical" and material- or status-oriented, and they had rather minimal educational aspirations.

Much of the focus on "social development" by these students seemed to be to overcome a deficit quite important to them. While most remained somewhat deficient in conventional social skills, practice in structured social roles and at living somewhat more independently helped to strengthen their "adjustment." However, their difficulty with trust and openness hindered reality-oriented relationships. While their own intellectual interests remained underdeveloped and they somewhat lacked

the experiential foundation for their substantial increase in intellectual autonomy, their contact with people helped them encounter and become somewhat more open to new ideas. But fear kept most largely within the bounds of convention, limiting range, depth, and insight. They remained fairly religious and slightly conservative, but showed average change in both areas. They became somewhat less interested in materialism or status but placed an average emphasis on grades and acquisition of a vocation, and derived some status from their social involvements. They had a somewhat low involvement with and influence by faculty and were not very likely to continue their schooling. For most, the search for social competence (and for deeper contact and a more independent life) remained important, but they expressed an average satisfaction with their college experience as a whole.

O-type 11: THE CONFIRMED COLLEGIATES

As entrants the students in O-type 11 (82% females) were very dependent on their families, hometowns, and societal mores for their perspectives on life and the world around them. They were quite close to their parents, fairly strongly affiliated with conventional religion, not very open to their inner selves, and especially conservative personally. They were somewhat "well-adjusted" and believed in socially "acceptable" values. They were materialistic, status-oriented, and (like their families) somewhat conservative politically. They were not very open to learning from ideas and desired a traditional "collegiate" experience.

Throughout college their primary focus was on "collegiate" social activities (including sports). Interpersonally, they sought "popularity" and were often involved in status-seeking and image-making. They put very little emphasis on interpersonal realism, and relationships with their numerous "close friends" tended to lack depth and substance. They were "successful" at trying to live the "appropriate" roles, but their greatly strengthened "adjustment" also involved a substantial increase in defensiveness, limitation of insight, and continued denial of many of their inner feelings and impulses. While liberalizing slightly, they remained more strongly affiliated with conventional religion and among the most conservative personally. Their unconscious fears left them closed to ideas, learning, experiment, and other possibilities in life, but they were very satisfied with their college experience. Although emphasizing acquisition of a vocation and having average contact with faculty, they were rather unlikely to pursue further schooling. Politically, they liberalized at a slow rate and, as seniors, were among the most conservative.

O-type 12: THE CLOSED AND UNCHANGING MALES

The students in O-type 12 were all males. They entered college with a very strong resistance to learning from abstract ideas, employed rather simplistic thinking, and put considerable value on immediate "practical" results, materialism, and status. They were concerned about vocational preparation rather than broader self-development, and had engaged in few broadly intellectual activities during high school. They were usually interested in sports, fairly competitive, and had rather rigid "masculine" role concepts. They were not very interested in political affairs or likely to be supportive of minority civil rights, but were only marginally conservative in general.

These students did little exploring or experimenting during college, had little interest in self-awareness, and knew little of their inner feelings, underlying fears, or defenses. As seniors they were somewhat "well-adjusted" and at average involved in structured social activities, but they associated primarily with others like themselves and had very superficial relationships. Sports continued to be an important area of effort, interest, or escape. They retained their "masculine" closure, many had not begun heterosocial relationships, and in their projected marital status most sought a dominant position, role-determined activity, or other security. They had almost no intellectual interests of their own, remained very closed to ideas and simplistic in their thinking, and showed very little esthetic development. Although average in religious affiliation (but changing less), religion seemed to play only a modest role in their rather foreclosed identity and value structure. Because they changed less, they came to be among the most conservative students, politically (especially) and even personally, and some saw themselves as part of the "silent majority." While some had an empathy with the outcast (a quality they in part shared), most continued to reflect opposition to ethnic groups. Academically, they continued to emphasize vocational training and were not much influenced by or involved with faculty. They expressed an average satisfaction with their college experience and an average interest in further schooling.

O-type 13: THE TRADITION-BOUND VOCATIONALISTS

As entrants the students in O-type 13 (83% females) were dependent on parents, religion, and subculture for their perspectives on life and the world around them. They were not very interested in political affairs but their conservatism was primarily personal. Although their level of "adjustment" was only average, they endorsed and attempted to adhere to very socially "acceptable" values and were not very self-expressive nor

open to their inner selves. They also had low educational aspirations.

Values from the past seemed to have a strong hold on these students, and most of their activity was well within bounds deemed "acceptable" by parents and society. Although of average involvement socially, their relationships were usually characterized by propriety and superficiality. They were slow to become more autonomous, and among seniors they had the strongest religious ties and were very distinctly conservative (especially personally). They professed an average attachment to their own intellectual interests, but a continued closure to ideas limited their learning. Academically, they very studiously emphasized good grades and the acquisition of vocational training, but reflected only average involvement with and influence by faculty and attraction to further schooling. Immediate "practical" results and material or status desires were important, but, for some, earning power also provided a potential for more independence. The insecurity of most, however, was strong enough to maintain the denial of their inner feelings, limit exploration (even within conventional limits), and inhibit insight. The limits on their hopes and expected development were perhaps illustrated by their high degree of satisfaction as a whole with the college experience.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE RATIONALE OF THE TYPOLOGY AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO REALITY

The Concern of the Study

What happens to young human beings when they attend college? What aspects of themselves do they develop, what potentials fall by the wayside, and what are the processes by which they change? What are the graduating seniors like--what do they believe, how do they see life, the society, and the world? What are their interests? How do they relate to others?

This study was concerned with the answers to questions of this nature, and the focus was both intensive and extensive. The more extensive or macroscopic aspects of the students' beliefs and lives were followed by means of questionnaires and an attitude inventory. Understandings of greater depth and of the more personal aspects of the students' lives were pursued via yearly interviews (and additional testing) of a number of randomly-selected students from five colleges and universities. One hundred of these students persisted to senior status within the "regular" four years, but they represent only the core sample for this analysis.

Because of the complexity and diversity among human beings, it seemed unrewarding to limit ourselves to the search for modest or weak generalizations uniformly applicable across either the entire group of interviewees or the larger sample. Indeed, traditional

research, which has often taken a single-dimension, either/or approach to human reality, is likely to obscure the differences in the complex dynamics of interaction with the environment from one individual or group to the next. Unfortunately, the most human(e) solution to this problem, that is, treating each student individually, while essential in personalized settings, is usually too complex to be of much utility in research, and invites one to obscure the many important but different socioculturally-influenced patterns of regularity that do exist.

The alternative approach used here involved defining groups of students based on their scores on a number of important dimensions. This grouping facilitates the development of understanding and theory more suitable to the complex dynamics of life. The resultant groups, or "O-types," are not unduly microscopic or macroscopic; they have some correspondence to a common-sense view of reality, and they reveal important potential applications of our knowledge and understanding. This research represents a considerable advance on the initial efforts to differentiate between "types" of college students.[1] In addition, the wide range of the data permitted a more sophisticated and holistic examination of the lives of the students assigned to the various groups.

---

[1]For one of the earliest efforts in this direction, see Clark, Burton R. and Trow, Martin, "Determinants of College Student Subculture" (Berkeley: Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, 1962). They posited four general subcultures--academics, collegiates, nonconformists, and consumer-vocationalists. These "Types" were devised primarily from the consideration of two dimensions: involvement with ideas, and identification with one's college.

The Purpose of the Overall Study

This special search for a student typology was conducted in the context of more extensive study. It represents one of several approaches considered for more specific addresses to the available information on a large student sample.

The general purpose of the larger study was an intensified investigation of development and change in postadolescent youth during their undergraduate years. The emphasis of the research was chiefly psychological, with the major concerns being the personal, intellectual and social development of individuals in a particular student sample. The general study included the intensive small-sample interview project, with randomly selected groups of students on five campuses being individually studied in depth over a four-year period. The small samples of students were drawn on campuses with diverse educational programs. A secondary concern, with a broader and less intensive approach, was a general analysis of change among large samples of seniors in a variety of institutions.

More specifically but briefly, a large sample participated in an extensive survey of entering students during the early Fall of 1966 and, at the seven institutions chosen for senior assessment, most of those who "persisted" to senior status responded again in the Spring of 1970. In addition to the freshmen-senior change assessments, this larger group also provided a pool of subjects to be used in validating selected hypotheses on a group basis. While the small sample projects were oriented to the study of individuals and types of development, enough generality of instrumentation was provided so that legitimate comparisons were also possible among colleges and between "types" of students across college environments. In short, the data collection was designed to provide convergent approaches to the problems under investigation, allowing for

individual analysis and group comparisons within both the small sample study and the larger sample.

The Methodology

The results of the particular study to be presented here, a typology of modern college youth, represents the most extensive and intensive address to the wealth of data collected on a generation of college students during the late sixties. The computerized method employed permits the utilization of a great variety of quantitative "input" (ordinal or scaled measurements) drawn from students' thinking and behavior, as reported on questionnaires and personality inventories. The general statistical treatment is known as cluster analysis (see Appendix A) and facilitates the classification of persons into a number of types or categories. The actual assignment of each student is based on sets of characteristics representing a composite of the individual's aspirations, orientation, values, attitudes, interests and reported experiences.

In order to make the sample large enough to facilitate this type of analysis (to obtain viable groups across an array of human complexity), the substudy sample of 100 "persisting" interviewees was augmented with 610 randomly-selected persisters from the seven institution, freshman-senior, survey-only sample.[1] The groupings

---

[1] In addition to the interviewed students (who were from five of the seven schools), 1/2 of the persisters from each of the institutions surveyed was randomly included in the sample, except that only 1/3 of the remaining Berkeley students were chosen. Even with this lower proportion from Berkeley, about 45% of the students without missing data were from Berkeley. However, the Berkeley student body is more diverse than any Berkeley stereotype implies, and this diversity is evident in the resultant groups. (See Table 4.)

of the students are based on the responses of the 710 students as seniors to the more important items and scales of the principal instruments included in the study.[2] From factor analysis of about 300 items and scales, the self-report information was boiled down to 11 particularly relevant dimensions (and dimensional conglomerates) and about 30 subsidiary dimensions. Robert C. Tryon's "O-typology" ("object-typology") procedure was used on the 11 dimensions to establish the groupings of the 606 students for whom complete data was available.[3] The O-typology procedure simultaneously considered the students' scores on the 11 dimensions in its search to find coherent groups among the 606 students. The result was 13 groups of students, ranging in size from 27 to 55.[4]

The Broader Focus

The developmental concerns of the study and the interest in the processes of change were then pursued within the context of the 13 groups generated from the students' scores on the 11 dimensions. The more personalized aspects of the life stories of the persons in the various groups derive in large part from the in-depth data obtained from the interviewees classified into the various groups, and this interview data also helped provide additional knowledge about the underlying meanings of the interactions between the quantified dimensions.

---

[2] These instruments included a Senior Questionnaire, the somewhat parallel Freshman Questionnaire, and the Omnibus Personality Inventory (OPI), given at entrance and at graduation. See Heist, Paul and Yonge, George, Omnibus Personality Inventory Manual (New York: The Psychological Corporation, 1962/1968).

[3] Tyron, Robert C., and Bailey, Daniel E., Cluster Analysis (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970).

[4] See Appendix A for more details about the decisions of the analyst in the use of Tryon's procedure.

Group scores on the 30 (senior) dimensions (and several other items) which were not among those used in the generation of the O-typology, and the students' responses to two open-ended questions, also formed part of the complex of data which was integrated into a description of each group. Examination of group averages on 24 freshman dimensions (obtained by factor analyses) also contributed to the understanding of the different backgrounds and the dynamics of subsequent development.

THE GROUPS IN RELATION TO REALITY

The groupings are a result of important differences between the students, as identified entirely by self-report data. Statistically speaking, there is an average of approximately five "significant differences" on the 11 dimensions between the mean scores of any two groups.[1] (See Table 3.) Within the groups, the students tend to have similar patterns of interests, attitudes, values, goals and behavioral approaches.

However, since the sample did not encompass the entire college-going population, the typology may not include all "types" of students. Among the four-year persisters, this sample is perhaps weakest with respect to state college students. But the breadth and diversity reflected in these groups may well be adequate to describe most four-year persisters, as well as many students who proceeded through college

---

[1] It should be noted that 48 of the 606 students were excluded from the groupings because they were too distant from the "core" of an O-type to fit Tyron's criteria. (See Appendix A for more about this.) The excluded individuals are, however, associated more with one type than another, and the particular scores most important in their exclusion can be noted. Indeed, every student with complete data was assigned a "distance" value representing his/her "deviance" from the mean scores of the O-type and serving as a reminder that no student fits one single pattern on these 11 important but still limited dimensions. Because of this variation within the groups, I have sometimes described O-type characteristics in terms of ranges and probabilities.

more slowly, the "dropouts" from the various programs, and many two-year college students. Persons familiar with college students will recognize many of their own postulations regarding "types" of students or common distinctions frequently made among students. Were one to replicate the analysis, some of the questions and some of the scaling could be improved, but fairly similar groups would probably emerge.

Table 1 presents the 11 dimensions. The first seven dimensions are entitled "conglomerates" because they are composed of three or more factors (which in turn consist of at least 3 questionnaire items). The titles of the factors which constitute the "conglomerates" are also presented. Although yet more data (and interview responses) went into the description of each O-type, this table represents a condensed version of the scope of the data upon which the O-typology is based.

[Table 1 about here]

The "Average" Response

The groups have proven particularly useful in the consideration and understanding of the differential changes and development of college students, as well as providing more understanding of the broader forces which limit human development, as observed in the educational milieu and process and in society's customs. Many forces were interactive in the processes of shaping change or promoting stagnation in the students' lives. Among the more important forces or sources of forces are: Western culture; society and government; parents; the home, and the hometown; peer groups (before and during college); the educational institution and its environment, including opportunities and constraints; developmental status of the student at entrance; individual personality characteristics.

But to more fully understand these forces and the processes, which have varied but often somewhat regular effects on different

Table 1. The 11 Dimensions from Which the O-typology Emerged[1]

1. The Conservative Conglomerate[2]
   a. Conservative, Anti-protestors' Means/Ends[3]
   b. Anti-intellectual Authoritarianism (OPI)
   c. [minus] New Morality Freedoms Endorsement
   d. [minus] Proponents of Student Self-determination and its Protest
   e. [minus] Experimental College (Vs. Traditional) ideally preferred
   f. Anti-socialists/radicals
   g. Non-hippies
   h. [minus] National-International Political Focus/Activity
   i. Anti-race Organizations
2. The Psychologically "Adjusted" Conglomerate
   a. Stable-Relaxed-Healthy ("Real")
   b. (Others-oriented) Good Adjustment; Positive Self-regard (OPI)[3]
   c. Kind-Pleasant-Good ("Real")
   d. [minus] Absolute Difference Score (Real vs. Ideal Self)
   e. [minus] The Inactive, Weak Slows (are partly o.k.) factor
   f. [minus] Loose versus Tight
3. The Own Intellectuality Conglomerate
   a. Own Reading-Intellectuality Important/Involved
   b. Into Art, Creative Activities
   c. Self-discovery, Development, Examination, and Awareness Focus
   d. Complex and Deep, Real and Ideal
4. The Faculty Conglomerate
   a. In/coping with Faculty
   b. Most Contributive Faculty Member Helped Personally
   c. Campus (-oriented) Activism-Involvement
   d. Department Personal-Cooperative-Social
5. The Social-People Conglomerate
   a. Into Social Life
   b. Student Government and Clubs Extracurricular
   c. Helping-Humanitarian People Focus
6. The Vocational-Educational Conglomerate
   a. Studious Grinds
   b. Vocationalists
   c. Educationally-onward Focus
7. The "Masculine" Conglomerate
   a. [minus] Feminine and Soft, Real and Ideal[3]
   b. "Masculine" Scientificism (OPI)[3]
   c. Into Sports, Athletics
8. Religiosity (approximately conventional) Factor
9. College Alienation Factor
10. Increase in Good Adjustment & Positive Self-regard (OPI)[3,4]
11. Increase in Intellectual, Religious, and Conscious Autonomy (OPI)[3,4]

---

[1]The titles of the conglomerates and factors are short-form renditions and often colloquialisms, but since each designation (except 1e.) represents at least three items (and as many as 19 in the case of 1a.), the information must be condensed to workable units.

[2]The word "conglomerate" is used to more adequately describe a "factor" composed of a number of theoretically independent dimensions, the primary components of which, however, are in empirical fact highly related to each other. While only the scores (Table 2) for the 11 primary dimensions are reported, within each conglomerate variations from expected patterns of scores were considered in the descriptions of each of the groups (Section II). See also Appendix A.

[3]Although there would be only a minor association between them, the OPI factors (one each in dimensions 1, 3, and 7), unlike the other factors, were used in their "artificially" unrelated (orthogonal) form. Dimensions 10 and 11 were similarly "forced" to be independent from one another, but their principal constituents also have little relation between them.

[4]The last two dimensions are "change" factors. Since scores here are based on subtracting freshman scores from senior scores, the result may understate change for students who were initially high-scorers, and may overstate change for students who initially scored below average. See footnotes a and b of Table 2.

individuals, it is helpful to know more about the meaning of the eleven dimensions by which the students are differentiated. Since the groups are for the most part described relative to the "average" student's responses, the underlying reality will be better understood if the reader has some sense of the students' average responses to Senior Questionnaire items representative of the dimensions.

While there is no short way to provide the reader with a full knowledge of the data, some flavor of the students' responses can be conveyed.[1] From the examples to follow (which describe the "average" student) the reader can get a better sense of what is meant when the various groups are described as above or below "average."[2]

The "average" student in our sample saw himself/herself as "liberal" (47%); 30 percent were moderate or nonpolitical and eight

---

[1]The groups are much more valuable (and more adequate) for understanding the dynamics and process of change and development than for depicting the "average." Although some of the distributions on some of the factors may be quite representative of 4-year persisters (in 1970), the reader should not necessarily take these averages as entirely typical of the 4-year college population. While the sample has considerable breadth, it is not (and could not easily be) adequately proportioned to approximate an "average college student." When ascription to items is fairly uniform (or patterned) across the institutions, we may be surer of our speculations concerning the "average" persisting senior. The averages and ranges portrayed here may provide some flavor of college students as a whole, but are primarily to aid the reader in understanding the meaning of the relative differences between the groups.

[2]In general, I have tried to be fairly systematic in my use of adjectives comparing each group to the average for the sample. For example, "somewhat above average" generally refers to a mean group score about .4 standard deviations above the sample average; "above average" (without a modifying adjective) refers to .5 to .7 standard deviations above average; "well above average," "high," etc. refers to .8 to 1.0 standard deviations above average; and "very high" and similar terms refer to scores greater than one standard deviation above average. Parallel distinctions also apply to "below average" scores.

percent were conservatives; 15 percent were radical [1a].[3] Forty-five percent to some degree actively protested or felt deep opposition to the war on Vietnam, and another 42 percent were sympathetic or donated money [1a]. Forty-six percent strongly agreed, and 41 percent agreed, that a person who advocates unpopular actions or holds unpopular ideas, no matter how extreme, should be allowed to speak to students on the college campus [1a]. The "average" student was neutrally-sympathetic toward Chicano, Asian-American, and Black organizations [1i]. Forty percent professed a great deal of interest in national and world affairs, and about half had at least a moderate interest [1h].

Fifty-two percent strongly agreed, and 34 percent agreed, that college students should have the freedom to make personal decisions about the use of marijuana [1c]. Sixty-eight percent approved of living together before marriage (80 percent approved of premarital sex) and only 11 percent entirely disapproved for others as well as for themselves [1c]. Nearly three quarters would have preferred an experimental college in most respects to one with a traditional emphasis in most respects [1e].

High scores on the OPI measure of adjustment [2b] are indicative of greater denial of feelings of personal, social, or societal alienation, and of anxiety. A high concern about others and above average social extroversion are implied. High scorers hold attitudes that are more socially and societally "responsible," and seek to make a good impression, although usually at a cost of above average suppression and/or repression.

The average student saw himself or herself as a little more Relaxed than Tense, but almost midway between the two (with a mean of 3.96 on a 7-point scale) [2a]. The average student was also more Active than Passive, but was even closer to the midpoint of dimension 2e.

---

[3]The symbol in brackets refers the reader to the factor in Table 1 of which the item is a constituent.

Half of the students were extremely interested in developing or expanding their self-awareness, and another 43 percent considered this to be of at least some importance [3c].

The average (median) student estimated that he/she read about seven books for his or her own pleasure "during the past year;" about twelve percent read fewer than two books, and another eleven percent read more than 24 [3a]. Thirty percent said they were quite interested in esthetic and cultural activities during college, while 19 percent said they were not then really very interested in such aspects of life [3b - 51% were in the 3 middle steps of a 7-point scale].

One question divided likely student-faculty conversation topics into six parts (educational, vocational, personal, academic-intellectual, informal, and regarding campus or social issues), and inquired about the numbers of such student-faculty conversations outside of class. All six of these scaled items (among nine items altogether) were associated with the "In/Coping with Faculty" factor [4a]. As late-year seniors these persisters might be expected to have a fair amount of contact, although the question restricts students to reporting on the last month and on conversations of 10 or more minutes. While the resultant statistics are not clear indicators of the amount of student-faculty contact (even in this sample),[4] it is very clear that there is a fair degree of contact (not necessarily one-to-one, particularly meaningful, or free from roles) between faculty and at least some students (and it may differ between four-year colleges and universities with graduate students). Among this sample as a whole, five of the subquestions (above) had responses of "1-2 [such] discus-

[4]Although the statistics are not entirely clear regarding "absolute" amounts of student-faculty contact, the adequacy of the factor coefficients and the strength of a 9-item scale suggest that the dimension adequately distinguishes relative amounts of contact with faculty, as assessed by the students.

sions" from 30 to 45 percent of the students, while about 30-53 percent answered "none" [and 17 to 33% answered "3-4" or "five or more"].[5]

Parties and social life were important to almost a quarter of the students and not important to another quarter [5a]. Involvement in student government was modest; over 75 percent of the students saw student government as "not important" in their satisfactions at college, and only three to four percent saw it as "important" [5b].

While 14 percent didn't know or didn't respond, 40 percent of these four-year persisters expected eventually to get a Master's degree, and about 35 percent hoped for a doctorate [6c]. Almost 30 percent studied more than 21 hours per week (outside of class), and a nearly equal proportion studied 10 or fewer hours [6a]. The average four-year persister in this sample showed at least an "average" attachment to college goals directed toward acquiring knowledge and skills with which to make a living [6b].[6]

The "masculinity-femininity" dimension here is not "either/or." Rather, it is a rough scale running from the more stereotypically masculine to the more stereotypically feminine in orientation. Included are attitudes, dispositions, activities and interests, and self-concept [7a, 7b, 7c].

Religiously the students were quite "liberal" as a whole. In terms of liberalism, the "average" religion involved a weak affiliation

---

[5]Three-quarters of the students had no discussion of "personal problems" (as distinguished from educational "plans, problems or progress"). In addition, almost 80% had never served on a faculty-student committee [4c].

[6]From "very little" to "very much" commitment to such goals, with "average" in the middle: 8%, 7%, 11%, 26%, 14%, 15%, 19%.

with a very liberal Protestantism. Agnosticism (especially), atheism, most Eastern religion, and much of Judaism were seen as more liberal, and students more strongly affiliated with a more conservative Protestantism, and much of Catholicism, were seen as less liberal [8].[7] Just under half said they "very little" reflected an interest in or focus on "development and practice of a religious life." (The slightly larger half of the students were somewhat weighted toward the less religious end of the remaining six, scaled categories (running to "very much") of the question [8]. Eleven percent were "deeply religious," and 46 percent were "moderately religious," 35 percent were "largely indifferent to religion," and 7 percent were "basically opposed to religion" [8].

Almost a quarter were extremely satisfied socially with their college experience, and 56 percent were moderately satisfied. One-sixth were moderately dissatisfied, and a few (3%) were very dissatisfied [9]. Twelve percent saw very few faculty as interested in students and their problems, 22 percent said "less than half," 22 percent said "half," 32 percent said "more than half," and 13 percent said "almost all" [9]. Considering their total college experience, about 10 percent were somewhat or very unsatisfied (in decreasing proportions); 12 percent had neutral or mixed feelings. Seventeen percent were somewhat satisfied, 34% were satisfied, and 26% of these four-year persisters were very satisfied [9].

The Scores of the Groups

With the help of the preceeding section, the reader may better comprehend the meaning of the average scores of the 13 groups on the

---

[7] Most of those indicating a preference for Eastern religion were Caucasians.

various dimensions. Table 2 presents the average scores of each of the groups on the 11 dimensions. Table 3 indicates which scores are significantly different between any one O-type and any other O-type. For example, reading down the column labeled "6" and across the row labeled "5", we find that O-type 6 is significantly different from O-type 5 on dimensions 3 and 4. Consulting Table 2, we may then note that O-type 6 has higher scores on the "Own Intellectuality" and "Faculty" conglomerates.

A Final Introductory Note

Before proceeding to the presentation of the groups, a few words of further explanation are in order. Each of the O-types has been labeled for ease in handling; hopefully these titles will serve as better associational cores to facilitate memory than would numbers. The labels are not, however, intended for use in simplistic stereotyping. Furthermore, no group is so homogenous, across the dimensions, that the label is entirely adequate. Similarly, no individual perfectly fits any group, stereotypically or otherwise. (At the same time, this inevitable "fallacy" of typing or categorization is <u>less</u> of a problem with this typology than in previous typologies of college students.)

The assemblage of the many components of each group into a larger picture was a long and difficult task. Initially the assembling process included all the data that appeared to be of significance or interest, in the attempt to pass <u>all</u> of it along to the reader. In moving the pieces around to find a story or set of "patterns" that most coherently seemed to account for the details, a holistic approach was

Table 2. Mean Standard Scores of the 13 O-types on the 11 Defining Dimensions[1]

Dimensions	O-types[2] Group No.	1 43	2 55	3 27	4 44	5 53	6 31	7 47	8 55	9 51	10 37	11 33	12 41	13 41	14[3] 152
Conservative Conglomerate		42.5	49.6	57.6	43.1	48.4	41.5	41.3	44.8	51.0	53.5	58.8	63.0	61.5	50.1
Psychologically "Adjusted" Conglomerate		42.6	35.6	43.0	51.9	48.9	43.0	54.6	54.5	54.7	49.3	64.1	55.4	52.5	50.1
Own Intellectuality Conglomerate		54.4	47.3	34.1	55.4	50.5	60.5	54.9	57.5	47.4	43.5	48.0	36.3	48.4	51.5
Faculty Conglomerate		44.1	44.1	42.9	44.6	44.2	62.9	49.9	62.2	56.7	46.3	53.8	46.1	49.4	50.8
Social-People Focus Conglomerate		41.9	45.4	37.1	50.9	43.4	46.4	55.0	54.6	54.4	57.4	63.5	48.9	52.8	49.1
Vocational-Educational Conglomerate		35.9	46.0	48.0	43.1	55.4	50.1	47.9	48.9	61.4	47.8	53.1	54.7	58.2	49.5
"Masculine" Conglomerate		51.5	44.8	52.2	40.3	51.0	48.5	55.3	45.7	59.8	44.1	45.5	63.9	41.8	51.4
Religiosity Factor		40.6	52.0	50.2	44.8	41.8	44.8	43.7	57.3	47.3	58.1	60.0	50.4	60.7	50.5
College Alienation Factor		62.4	62.4	52.8	48.3$_b$	52.9	47.3	49.7	41.4$_b$	43.8	48.1	41.0$_b$	50.5	43.7	50.9
Increase in "Adjustment"		51.8^a	42.2^a	52.0^a	42.9^b	47.1$_b$	42.9$_b$	54.5	52.1^b	51.0	56.3	61.4^b	49.8^a	49.4^a	50.6
Increase in Consciousness		46.0^b	50.0	49.4	53.3^b	45.6^b	45.7^b	60.3	55.8	48.8	57.3^a	47.0^a	44.4^a	47.3^a	47.2

[1] For the sample as a whole, all of the factor scores were standardized to a mean of 50.00 and a standard deviation of 10.00. Thus a little over two-thirds of this population have scores between 40.00 and 60.00. The standard deviations for the 13 O-types show less variation, ranging from 4.6 to 9.9 (and averaging about 7.0) on the 11 dimensions. A table of standard deviations is presented in Appendix A.

[2] The O-types are titled: 1) The Societally Alienated; 2) The More Generally Alienated; 3) The Socially Alienated Materialists; 4) The Emerging Women; 5) The Religiously Liberal Subject-Oriented Achievers; 6) The Intellectuals; 7) The Average Students Who Changed; 8) The Emotionally Dissonant Intellectuals; 9) The Vocational-Professional Achievers; 10) The Inexperienced Socials; 11) The Confirmed Collegiates; 12) The Closed and Unchanging Males; and 13) The Tradition-Bound Vocationalists

[3] "Group 14" consists of the 48 students rejected from the typology plus whatever proportion of students with some missing data (N = 104) had scores on the dimension listed on the left. The scores of "Group 14" hover around 50, the average for the sample as a whole. Since most of the missing data was OPI data, the means for "Group 14" on Dimensions 10 and 11 are based on very few subjects.

[a,b] Since the initial levels greatly influence this form of "change" score (especially in instruments subject to some ceiling effects), the reader is cautioned to adjust a score upward if it footnoted "b" and downward if footnoted "a" (and further downward or upward, respectively, if the score is also underlined). Groups with "high" scores on similar dimensions when they were freshmen are footnoted "b" ("somewhat high" = "b" with no underline). Groups with "low" scores as freshmen are footnoted "a" ("somewhat low" = "a" with no underline).

Table 3. Significant Differences Between O-types on the Eleven Definitional Variables[1]

O-type Number

O-type Number:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
(1)		1,2 6 8 10	1 3 6 8 5,6,7 9,10	2 6 9	6 9	4 6 9,10	2 4 6 9 11	2 4 5,6 8 9 11	1,2 4 5,6,7,8 9	1 3 5,6 8 9 11	1,2 4 5,6 8 9,10	1,2,3 5,6,7,8 9	1,2 5,6,7,8 9
	(2)		1 3 5 10	1,2,3 8 9	2 6 8 9	1 3,4 8 9	1,2,3,4 5 7,8 9,10,11	2,3,4 5 9,10	2 4 5,6,7 9,10	2 5 9,10	1,2 4 5 9,10	1,2,3 6,7 9,10	1,2 5,6 8 9
		(3)	1,2,3 5 7 10	1 3 5,6 8	1 3,4 5 10	1,2,3,4 5 11	1,2,3,4 5 9	2,3,4 5,6 9	3 5	2,3,4 5 9,10	2 5 7	2,3 5,6,7,8	
			(4)	5,6,7 11	2 4 7	7 10	4 8 9,10	1 3,4 6,7 10	1 3 8 10	1,2,3,4 5,6 8 9,10	1 3 6,7 10,11	1 3 6 8 11	
				(5)	3,4	1 4 5,6 10,11	3,4 5 8 9 11	2 4 5 7 9	5,6 8 10,11	1,2 4 5 8 9,10	1,2,3 7,8	1 5 7,8 9	
					(6)	2 4 5 10,11	2 8 10,11	1,2,3 5,6,7	1 3,4 5 8 10,11	1,2,3,4 5 8 10	1,2,3,4 7	1,2,3,4 8	
						(7)	4 7,8 9	1 3,4 6 9 11	1 3 7,8	1,2,3 5 7,8 9 11	1 3 7 11	1 3 6,7,8 11	
							(8)	1 3 6,7,8	1 3,4 9	1,2,3,4 5 10,11	1 3,4 7 9 11	1 3,4 6 11	
								(9)	4 6,7,8	1,2 5,6,7,8 10	1 3,4 9	1 7,8	
									(10)	2 9 11	1 3 5 7,8 11	1 6 11	
										(11)	2,3 5 7,8 9,10	2 5 10	
											(12)	3 7,8 9	

[1]The numbers in each cell refer to the 11 defining dimensions of the O-typology (See Table 1). Scores of the two O-types designated by the row and column labels for each cell are significantly different from each other on the dimensions numbered within the cell (Scheffé's post hoc procedure). For example, O-type 5 is significantly different from O-type 6 on dimensions 3 and 4 (see arrow).

employed. The reader is welcome to reassemble and reinterpret the pieces if he/she is dissatisfied.

A serious effort was made to write the positive and the negative side of each group, but admittedly all bias of the investigator could not be eliminated. Furthermore, the evidence seemed to clearly indicate that the overall characteristics of some groups were "better" than others. The lives of students characterized by immaturity, persistent unhappiness, great difficulty in coping, lack of awareness, and role-confinement did and do seem worse than the lives of those who were freer, happier, aware and more realistic, productive and growing.

CHAPTER II

THE O-TYPES

O-TYPE 1: THE SOCIETALLY ALIENATED

At entrance the students classified into O-type 1 (25 males, 18 females) were more likely than almost all of the other groups to be politically and personally liberal. They were more independent of parents, locality, religion, and society in their perspectives on life and the world around them, and they were much more open to learning from abstract ideas. They were least affiliated with an organized religion. They were one of the two groups who showed the most approval of anti-war and free speech movements, and of socialism. Compared to the average entrant, they were less concerned about materialistic and "practical" goals, they had a somewhat more complex outlook on life, and in their conduct they de-emphasized the value of social acceptability. Among the groups they were the most acceptant of student freedom to engage in premarital sex, and to use alcohol and marijuana, and they had expectations of higher student drug use (perhaps partly because of the institutions they were to attend) than did most students. As a whole they were somewhat less close to their parents than were the other groups.

The students in O-type 1 were not as "well-adjusted" as most when they entered college. Compared to most of the groups, their lives were less stable and more dominated by impulse and they were somewhat more anxious. They had defenses and personalities that were somewhat less effective in coping with conventional social life and societal norms. They were social introverts who had difficulty relating in groups, but they were at average in self-expression with fewer people. They had a lower level of self-esteem than most of the students and were less self-satisfied, but they were in some ways more open to personal change.

These students slightly more than most tended to be from politically liberal and long-Americanized families with a higher socio-economic status and a higher divorce rate. They seemed usually to attend liberal colleges and universities, both large and small, with good intellectual or academic (and sometimes experimental) reputations.

While the students in O-type 1 usually had a strong desire to learn, their personal dispositions and intellectual independence, even when they wanted to acquire a specific vocation or profession, did not readily conform or adjust to academia's compartmentalized and often depersonalized teaching and fields of study, nor to society at large. Since some were able to begin to find or follow relatively new paths to their goals, the problems they had with established social, academic, and societal patterns were not always overwhelmingly disadvantageous. But by their time of graduation many had also experienced substantial frustration, and some faced a degree of stagnation and failure. But in terms of their overall development of potential, including the intellectual, they continued to remain ahead of most of the students. For most however, finding security and new ways to live (often somewhat by chance) in a society nonfacilitative of, if not opposed to such a search, was far from completed.

As seniors the students in O-type 1 tended to be even more alienated than they were as freshmen from American social standards, perspectives, and values, and they were one of the two O-types most dissatisfied with their college experience as a whole. Although they in some ways expressed nearly average self-acceptance, as a group their broader socioemotional "adjustment" remained unchanged (clearly below average). They experienced more "trauma" than most of the groups, seldom reported becoming less alienated or cynical, and felt they had less control over events in their lives. Their increased personal and political radicalization put more distance between their reality and academic, social, and societal norms, and as seniors they least expressed faith in their future and in this country's institu-

tions. Although most of them would have welcomed some of society's usual rewards and they had other attachments to convention as well,[1] they had difficulty using the conventional channels to reach such goals, especially if the motivation didn't truly come from within. And although they were often unsure about commitments, most wanted something other than status, affluence, routine, or work in a hierarchy. As graduating seniors, 28 of the 43 (11 expected by chance), the highest proportion of any O-type, did not have a particular career in mind.

Regarding major social and political issues, national and international, the students in O-type 1 were more supportive than almost all of the other groups of liberal-radical and radical aims and protest.[2] Although they became more active and almost all of them protested occasionally, only a limited number put extensive time or effort into sociopolitical activity and they no more often than average engaged in benevolently constructive activity. Their belief in social justice and the necessity of change was often felt to be futile, and they were only at average especially influenced by their participation in political activity and by the events of the time.

Among this sample of students who persisted to graduation in the "regular" four years, the greater search for new ways, emphasis on being themselves, and attachment to gratification today rather than in the future, made the students in O-type 1 (and their friends) the most

---

[1] Such as in their emphasis of sports and athletics, which while perhaps somewhat less spectator-oriented, was about average among the groups (i.e., no more than a little low for their sex ratio).

[2] Although they more strongly than most of the students believed that the U.S. is a racist society and were supportive of the Black Panthers, their acceptance of racial-ethnic organizations and of the value of encouraging differing racial-cultural styles was weaker (and only a little above average among the students).

"hip" in the sample. Most of them were involved in sex and with drugs (primarily marijuana but also LSD on occasion for some) early in their college careers, and they as strongly as any other group accepted premarital sex, living together before marriage, and marijuana usage. They were much more likely than any other group to report that their especially important influences during college included such "counterculture" phenomena as consciousness expansion, drugs, sex, nature, Eastern literature/philosophy, and groups or therapy. They were also more independent and experimental than almost all of the other groups in their living conditions and in their thinking, and they were more acceptant of socially deviant behavior.[3]

Although they usually still lacked an understanding of some conceptualizations important in knowing themselves, they put a somewhat above average emphasis on self-awareness and self-discovery, and they more often than average reported greater self-knowledge as an especially important development of their college years. In general, they were more fully conscious of their inner impulses, positive and negative, their feelings of insecurity were more conscious (and sometimes threatening), and they saw more of the complexity of life than most of the students. Compared to the other students, the identity of most of them, however unfirmed, was more their creation than one stamped out by parents or society, and they were also much less reliant on and little affiliated with organized religion. Despite their lack of occupational directions they somewhat more than most foresaw a future where concerns about identity were more important than finances.

Compared to their peers, the students in O-type 1 were somewhat below average in reported number of "close friends" and in their involve-

---

[3]Like O-types 4, 5, 6, and 7, few (27%) lived in regulated housing, and communal living perhaps found more practitioners here than in any other O-type.

ment in and emphasis on "social" life. Socially, they were very dissatisfied with their college experience. They remained fairly introverted, and were among the groups least likely to report that they became more self-confident and outgoing during college, and usually restricted themselves to individuals or small groups. They had the least interest or involvement in student "activities." They had a lot of difficulty with and less desire than most of the students for conventional roles and facades, disapproved of most of the "dishonest" but socially "appropriate" defenses and pretenses they saw around them, and usually avoided such interactions. They were very dissatisfied socially.

However, interpersonal relationships were an area of considerable emphasis for the students in O-type 1. But rather than stress development of mechanisms for social and societal coping, many of them wanted to "be themselves," whatever the context. An often passive, critically perfectionistic, and perhaps self-centered approach to being themselves, as well as insecurity, difficulty with trust and commitment, and identities still in flux, were significant problems for most of them. Despite often strong needs for security and reassurance (which they couldn't readily get in more socioculturally "normal" ways), most of them were more open than most of the other students to interpersonal learning and made some important progress in their capacity to form relationships. As a group, they reported more than any other O-type that friends and close relationships were especially influential on them during college. The "goal" of marriage per se (as distinguished from a "good relationship") became much less important to them, traditional sex roles were somewhat deemphasized, and although some were married, few additional marriages were foreseen for the immediate future. But love relationships were also reported somewhat above average as important influences.

In some respects the most important ties of the students in O-type 1 with the campus were protest and change-oriented, but they were only about average in these emphases. But apart from academia,

they more than almost all of the other groups continued to enjoy and be open to learning from the realm of ideas. While their level of active involvement did not seem to match their openness, their own intellectual interests (such as reading and art) were of somewhat more importance than average, and more than many groups they reported having been especially influenced by contemporary and other literature (including nonfiction). Partly because of a strong intellectual disposition, they were even about average in their ability to express themselves in the classroom.

Although they regarded their departments only somewhat less positively than average, and were stimulated to think about values and social issues by a few faculty members (i.e., only somewhat less than average), they were very likely to believe faculty were little interested in or concerned about students. Despite their intellectual dispositions, they found little acceptance by or outreach from faculty and they had very little personal contact or reinforcement from individual professors. On the whole, their involvement with and influence by faculty was probably the lowest of any of the groups. They majored in humanities, the social sciences, and the arts (the last in especially high proportions), and although they were much less studious than the average student, their grades were above average. They were also less likely than average to be continuing on to graduate school, but this remained an eventual possibility for some.

At the time of their graduation most of the students in O-type 1 still faced a lot of dilemmas. Although many were not very far along on the path to "stable" identities, some were doing fairly well and some had begun to find or fashion commitments to people, work, or social change. They usually had some important values and beliefs, but found most established life models useless as ways to implement their goals and live their beliefs, and this contributed to their sense of futility, and their frustration, hostility, passivity, and alienation. (A changed

society and world--to ways of living and social practices that often would make more sense--would fulfill some of the hopes and wishes of many of them, and make their lives easier.) From the interviewees and from observations of our times, we might expect that some of them in time will manage to fashion relatively free, self-fulfilling, creative identities. However, others will have to continue to struggle (some with severe difficulties), and still others will alienatedly compromise with convention as best they can. Continued growth may help more of them establish areas of contribution, choose which battles to fight, and accept more flexibility in determining which roles they will allow themselves or accept.

O-TYPE 2: THE MORE GENERALLY ALIENATED

The students assigned to O-type 2 (31 females, 24 males) came from a wide variety of backgrounds. A primary common element of many of these backgrounds was severe interpersonal difficulty and/or conditions which would tend to generate such difficulty. These conditions included separation and/or divorce of the parents, severe communication problems between parents or between the offspring and at least one parent (usually a dominating father), poverty and economic insecurity as a physical and/or psychic threat, and the death of a parent (especially the father). Many of the people in this group who lacked the "trauma" identified in the data, were raised by parents who tended to be overly "rational" and unemotional, who lacked a sense of values, or who belittled others' efforts.

Also included among background "difficulties" are the problems of being Black in the United States--nonacceptance by whites, social conditions of institutionalized racism, and the psychic ramifications on later generations of the once greater deprivations imposed, particularly if exacerbated by the factors mentioned in the first paragraph. A little over 40 percent of the Blacks in our sample, who are primarily from one college in the South, fell into this O-type.[1]

While the students in O-type 2 were represented at all 7 institutions, they seemed to be least frequently in attendance at (nonBlack) schools with a strong, "social" or "collegiate" orientation.

The data indicate that as entrants some of the students in O-type 2 were already having difficulties with their personal and

---

[1]Among the remaining interviewees, one of the two Blacks who attended the other colleges in the sample also fell into this O-type.

social adjustment. Others had managed adjustments minimally sufficient to cope with life during high school. Still others maintained repression--or suppression--based facades of good psychological adjustment. These early identities, however, were too narrow and tended to be inadequate facilitators and acceptors of growth.

At the time of the senior assessment it became clear that most of the students assigned to O-type 2 were people who either could not or had not yet come to a comfortable and open personal balance from which to carry on in life. For some, conflicts were only then emerging or emergent. For most, however, psychological difficulties were persistent. Some had a degree of awareness of their difficulties (and then the problem was one more of will and direction), but others had only nameless anxiety, alienation, clinging to inadequate goals, and conflict-shrouded perspectives.

More than most students, they tended to feel inferior, inadequate, and depressed. So much energy was consumed by internal conflicts or was bound up in self-protective defense mechanisms that they had only a limited amount of energy to invest in self-development, in others, or in mankind. They were the group least likely to report becoming more self-confident and outgoing, less alienated and cynical, or to report feeling more emotionally stable. As seniors, their "adjustment" was usually considerably worse than it was when they were freshmen.

Their college life was by far the most "traumatic" of any O-types. Separation and divorce of parents continued to occur and parental illness and death was more prevalent than average. They were distant from their parents and some had had "severe" breaks. "Emotional or psychological difficulties" were reported at a rate higher than by any other group (34 of 55 -- 18 expected). Even "romantic conflicts or disappointments" were somewhat above average,

and some also lost "valued friends." They had the highest proportion of serious financial problems and of serious personal illnesses or accidents, and they reported more serious academic difficulties than did any other group.

The particular foci of their difficulties and conflicts varied widely, but usually included, whatever their other difficulties, consequential problems with interpersonal relationships. Their interpersonal difficulties included a broad range of problems, ranging in one case to a painful, almost complete lack of communication with others and some perceptions 180 degrees removed from reality, to problems with intensities apparently not really far removed from average. Although most were somewhat socially involved, many were not skilled nor experienced at social interaction in general. Many of the males and some of the females were well behind in heterosocial development and had no realistic views of the opposite sex nor of how to relate to them. Most had substantial difficulties relating intimately, and they were also likely to be introverts. These students had no ideological reasons for the low likelihood of a forthcoming marriage that they in general reported.

While O-type 2's most distinguishing characteristics were their various forms of alienation, it must be remembered that in many ways they were more "normal." For example, in some ways their personal growth was average, although their difficulties in other areas limited a fuller integration or application of their gains. The lives of only a few of them were so dominated by their problems that they lived constantly in turmoil, pain or aloneness. The particular conflicts cited below, then, were not common to all of the students in O-type 2, but are important examples of their problem areas.

Some students were involved in a tension between parentally- (and poverty-) induced individual striving for economic security,

success, status, and/or middle-class material prosperity versus community-oriented service and the pursuit of other personal growth. This conflict, although not always recognized as a source of problems, was particularly prevalent among the Blacks in the sample.

Similarly, instilled parents' concepts or wishes regarding social propriety, and religion, morality and duty (including to the family), were the focus of many student's conflicts. Although as a group they were of average religiosity among the students, some of the students in O-type 2 were in the throes of conflict with a strong religious upbringing and others were floundering in search of values beyond the scope of most conventional religions. With regard more generally to values in life, some were caught in an alienated, disinterested drift.

Many were unsure of their occupations and/or had majored in subjects they cared little about. For others, conflict centered on the utility of education (or of trying to achieve other conventional goals) in a context of indefinite values and an indefinite future (in which they had less faith than most students). The women among them generally expected to be employed more during their lives than did the women of the other groups, the reasons being, unfortunately, interpersonal alienation and necessity.

Another often conflicted perspective was the political, where the group as a whole was again average among the groups. O-type 2's students indicated the strongest feelings of futility, powerlessness, and interpersonal and social difficulty. They most saw a "generation gap." Yet not even the more radical among them were very involved in the development of alternative life styles, nor were they particularly committed or activist in efforts directed toward social change.

Although they did grow and benefit somewhat by their experiences as a whole over the college years, they were generally dissatisfied. They reported a low degree of influence by and involvement with faculty, and saw professors as less concerned about students than did the other O-types. Most weren't particularly studious, but grad school was a possibility in the minds of a few. They also did not tend to enjoy the pursuit of intellectual interests on their own. However, as a group they grew an average amount in autonomy of intellectual perspective and toward freeing themselves from religious doctrine. And they became somewhat more aware of their own inner feelings, even though some of these feelings were somewhat threatening.

But much of their strength of personality and secure sense of self has been undermined, and they often remained dependent on previously established but inadequate cognitive and behavioral formulas and repertoires. While most might still desire to turn back to some idealized version of a conventional life, these simplistic perspectives and goals were often a part of their difficulty.

In their problem areas, they were often caught in vicious circles of fear, inaction or flight, frustration, and hostility and guilt. Many tended to turn on themselves, increasing their fearful sense of helplessness, worthlessness, and inadequacy. They tended to protect themselves rather than actively seek ways to transcend difficulties or otherwise augment their growth. Their defenses included withdrawal and lack of openness about themselves, flatness of affect and rejection-avoiding noncommitment, and perfectionistic self- and others-criticism. With their low level of self-confidence and limited development, what venturing they did undertake was more likely to result in "catastrophe." Despite the general picture of a worsening "adjustment" (which sometimes meant they could no longer maintain pretenses for others or for themselves), their increased awareness

and their "traumatic"jolts may in time help some of them to find new and broader pathways to personal integration.

O-TYPE 3: THE SOCIALLY ALIENATED MATERIALISTS

The students classified into O-type 3 (15 males, 12 females) tended to come from socioeconomically disadvantaged backgrounds.[1] Their parents earned less money and owned fewer books than was average among these college students, and there was less of a history of college attendance by the family.

As entrants, the students in O-type 3 tended to take a rather closed and stereotypically "masculine" view of life, emphasizing self-centered, practical, "realistic," and materialistic perspectives at the expense of openness to others, or to new, esthetic, or abstract ideas. They had difficulty using ideas for either intellectual or personal growth. They were vocationally-oriented, and did not emphasize self-development nor learning to think critically as important college objectives. They were also somewhat less concerned about politics than the other entrants.

Interpersonally, they were introverts and not very self-expressive, even in small groups. They did not have a strong sense of their inner feelings, but neither were they "well-adjusted."[2] Among the groups, they least felt good about themselves (they had a low level of self-esteem), and they wanted to change.

These students seemed to be rare at expensive socially-oriented colleges and at liberal-experimental schools.

---

[1] As constituted in this sample, however, there were very few Blacks in O-type 3.

[2] At this age (18) if not also in later years, a socially-societally "acceptable" adjustment usually implies a lack of awareness of one's inner feelings.

Generally speaking, perhaps partly stimulated by its lack in their home life, material and financial success, and status, carried more weight with the students in O-type 3 than with most of the other groups. The history of these students also suggests that some of their materialism was a substitute for other satisfactions difficult to get because of social introversion and alienation, cynicism, defensive shells, other closure, and a lack of self-esteem. The conditions of their backgrounds in many respects left these students with a legacy of underdevelopment which hindered their subsequent growth. While in some respects the group made nearly average developmental progress, as a whole they did not change very much and tended to remain trapped in their original approaches to life.

Although as seniors they were quite conventional in most respects, they were the group least involved in the usual collegiate heterosocial activities, and in general they tended to be socially awkward. Their involvement in an affiliative social life, with parties, dances, and friends was far below average, and they were only somewhat more involved with student government and clubs. In comparison to the other groups, they least felt humanitarian and socially benevolent. Yet apparently because of low expectations and some gains from their underdeveloped antecedents, they did not report a high level of social dissatisfaction with their college experience.

But they continued to be social introverts, and some were somewhat isolated and alone. The relationships that they did have often involved considerable dependency and were likely to have been superficial rather than deep or close. While in time some came to attempt to be more honest in their relationships with others, most continued to rely heavily on defensive shells and roles. They were among the three groups who reported relatively fewer close friends, and more than in most groups these friendships were "left over" from high school. They least reported that their friends and close relationships

were especially influential, and none of them lost "valued friends."[3] They were one of two groups much more likely to turn to adults (rather than to friends) in times of personal problems. The ones that did become involved in love or marriage relationships, however, were likely to report that these relationships had been especially influential.[4]

As seniors they remained not very "well-adjusted," although they no longer tended to feel as badly about themselves as they had as freshmen. Yet they were among the groups least likely to report becoming less alienated and cynical or more self-confident and out-going. Most continued to defensively protect themselves from seeing that much more was possible in life and that there were commitments worth making and risks worth taking. Their uncommitted stance made college life largely without the kinds of "trauma" (and the kinds of joys) identified in our data. Compared to the other students, they saw themselves as having less control over events in their own lives and they were fairly acceptant of considerable passivity.[5]

Despite their lack of commitments and clinging to a perspective of futility, they did undergo some growth. They grew an average amount toward becoming more independent in their perspectives on life and the world around them, and toward becoming free of religious doctrine (although they remained at about average among these students in the

---

[3]The lack of loss is partly due to a lack of closeness and "value."

[4]A quarter of them (more than average) reported such influences, but only 5 (fewer than average) were married or clearly planning a marriage in the near future.

[5]See O-type 2 for other implications of passivity. Fewer implications are cited here because there were only two interviewees to study. In contrast to the students in O-type 2, among the students in O-type 3, the passivity seemed somewhat more connected with apathy, escapism, and cynicism.

liberalizing matrix of religious affiliation). But despite some increased autonomy, they showed little intellectual interest, intrinsic or otherwise. They very strongly denied that they had important intellectual interests of their own (such as reading or art). Similarly, self-awareness, self-discovery, and self-development were not important interests for them. They did not see themselves as deep or complex (nor want to be), and their insight into their own situation, except for some who began to better understand where to seek their more real needs, was usually rather minimal.

Despite an interest in material acquisition, their commitment to study and to a vocation was only average, and they were less likely than average to be planning to attend graduate school. Because as seniors they were least "expressively intellectual," they were more than most students satisfied with an impersonal college community where they could blend in and not be called upon. They reported among the lowest degree of involvements with and influence by faculty, but they were no more than marginally dissatisfied with faculty or with their college experience as a whole. Occupationally, a proportionately large number listed preferences such as business, technical work, and engineering, but there was also considerable diversity in occupational choices with yet higher status.

Despite some growth in sociointellectual autonomy, they remained the most apolitical group. Concern, activism, or interest in politics were largely lacking. Most students underwent a greater degree of political and personal liberalization than did the students in O-type 3. Because of this lower degree of change, the students in O-type 3 moved from relatively average to relatively conservative in comparison to their peers. Although they reported an average amount of influence of special importance by political events, they least reported becoming more sociopolitically aware as an important development over the college years.

Influenced in part by their materialistic goals and by a lack of other developed options in life, they tended to be fairly conservative and to defensively support the status quo in which they believed their interests lay. They also least favored the encouragement of differing cultural and racial styles. Concerns about social "acceptability" and their relatively nonexperimental disposition were also important enough to influence their relatively nonacceptant attitude toward premarital sex and marijuana.

Despite strong ties with parents' values and earlier ingrained approaches to life, much of their average gain in autonomy was with respect to family. While as seniors one-quarter (the highest proportion of any O-type) still lived with their parents and relatives, and while parents and other adults were cited somewhat more than average as especially important influences (not always positively so), they also reported becoming more independent and free to follow their own life plans. The closeness with parents, which was marginally less than average among the freshmen, was relatively more lacking among the seniors.

While the cynically materialistic attitude of the students in O-type 3 to some degree lessened with their slow discovery of other possibilities in life (primarily the interpersonal), most of them remained unchanged and little developed. Their social and interpersonal alienation was dynamically tied with their self-centered materialistic interests, but the continued stimulus of inadequate relationships and a growing independence from parents and their ways (which had helped to bring about the students' difficulties) may offer some potential for the future. But even with defensively low expectations, the odds against their attainment of a life of even rather conventional rewards seemed higher than in most groups, and as seniors much of their potential lay untapped and unavailable.

O-TYPE 4: THE EMERGING WOMEN

The students in O-type 4 were mostly females (39 of 44). They came to college fairly "well-adjusted" psychologically and in their actions and beliefs they attempted to maintain an above-average degree of social "acceptability."

But neither their "adjustment" nor inclination to be socially "acceptable" precluded an esthetically intellectual approach to life, and they were more open to ideas than was the average student. In terms of college-related goals, they were oriented more toward the development of critical thinking and a broad general acquaintance with many topics than toward the acquisition of vocational skills. While their parents' socioeconomic status was likely to have been marginally above average, and their hometowns were somewhat more urban and suburban than small-town or rural, neither they nor their families had high academic aspirations.

These students were more frequently in attendance at liberal colleges and universities (although perhaps not at schools also emphasizing a rigorous, strictly academic program), but they were also in evidence at more average and conservative institutions.

From a developmental standpoint, college for most of these students tended to be a time of significant personal change extending to numerous facets of belief and behavior. Their greatest changes involved freeing themselves far more substantially than do most from attitudes and behaviors conditioned initially in family settings and by society and culture. They also became less personally dependent on others (family, society, peers) for their actions, beliefs, identities, and lives.

Over the college years they became less "well-adjusted" psychologically such that as seniors they were about average on this dimension.[1] In becoming less "adjusted," they became more aware of a variety of inner feelings (which were previously repressed or suppressed), and they stopped acting as automatically in socially "acceptable" fashions. They became less extrovertive but more aware of and open about themselves. During the college years they spent considerable time and effort trying to see, to learn, and to look at themselves, others, and society, rather than merely acting on the basis of "where they already were."

Procedurally, they often developed independent perspectives on values, society, or religion, and then proceeded to change their behavior.[2] For example, as they learned that the proscription against premarital sex was essentially a social custom founded in no absolute, they changed their attitudes and then their behavior. As seniors, they almost unanimously approved of premarital sex and of living together before marriage. Similar processes usually occurred with respect to their acceptance of marijuana. And as seniors they were usually no longer affiliated with a formal religious denomination, although they had personal values which provided meaning in their lives.

---

[1]The dimension of psychological "adjustment" includes not only such "aspects" of personality as self-esteem, ego strength, goal-direction, social assertiveness/extroversion, benevolent concern about others, and lack of anxiety, but also dispositions to act/believe in socially "desirable" manners, to be too "adjusted/attuned" to others, to live more exclusively for tomorrow, and to make heavy use of repression and suppression.

[2]Note that this approach eliminates much of the likelihood that guilt will result (from violation of inculcated but accepted standards). Furthermore, insofar as they proceeded beyond thought to action, the changes of the students in O-type 4 gained a solid foundation.

While becoming less extrovertive, as seniors they were about average in general sociability. They became more sophisticated and socially competent, but in ways that were integral to their lives. They deemphasized traditional (hetero)social activities (such as student government and clubs) in favor of a humanitarian people focus which complemented their particular value systems and life situations. Despite their growing radicalism (and partly because the college years were such positive growth and experience-filled years), these students were not usually particularly "alienated" from their college or university environments nor from other people in general.

However, since considerable movement toward the sociopolitically liberal-radical (if not the radical) was naturally a part of the growth, they became more at odds with society. Among their reported important developments were that they became more sociopolitically aware, more radical and more active, and that they had less faith in America. As seniors they were among the five more radical O-types. However, they were not highly active politically. Political influences per se, from events in Vietnam and Chicago to on-campus turmoil, were reported at only an average rate to have been especially important. Their radicalization was facilitated more by a sensitive awareness to themselves, to others, and to society than by active protest or generalized abstract analysis.

They tended to major in the humanities and social sciences (36/44) and many were headed for teaching or similar other-oriented professions (25/44). Their primary interests while in school, however, were hardly "academic." They remained relatively nonvocationalist, were not usually very studious, and they were somewhat less likely than average to expect to immediately pursue further education. Their grades, among these four-year persisters, were only average. Their involvement with faculty was below average, but they were about average

in reported influence by faculty. They were likely to select courses and majors of personal relevance and to apply the meanings of what they learned to their view of life and society. It was fortunate for their personal growth that they did not feel very obliged to achieve academically (get good grades) or to acquire a specific vocation/profession or "body of knowledge" -- for in not emphasizing these traditionally-encouraged paths, they were freer to learn outside academia and to spend valuable time pursuing other growth.[3] Occupationally, some were still pretty unsure (sometimes for ideological reasons) about just how they would relate to the "system."

They were intellectuals, but their channels usually weren't the conventionally academic. For example, they placed a somewhat above average emphasis on their own intellectual interests such as artistic endeavor, self-discovery and self-awareness, and reading, and they more than average saw contemporary and other literature[4] as having been an especially important influence during their college years. Throughout college they used and appreciated ideas in ways that were personally relevant even though academic gave them no direct "credit" for their efforts.

For these students, "relevant" learning and interpersonal relationships were typically most important. Friends were reported at a rate marginally above average to have been among the most important of their influences, and few would take a personal problem to an "adult" (parent, therapist, minister, etc.) rather than to a friend. As seniors they were among the highest O-types, despite

---

[3]The developmental importance of the diverse influences/involvements available in the non-formal aspects of their college or university environments, particularly but not exclusively through peers, as well as in the surrounding community, should not be underestimated.

[4]e.g., Hesse, Laing, Camus.

the fact that they were mostly women, in reporting that they lived in unregulated housing (e.g., in apartments). "Counter-culture" and other nonacademic developmental experiences (marijuana, LSD, and therapy or encounter groups) were more influential for these students than for most (except for O-type 1 students).

As they sought to learn and grow, and to be more themselves and lead lives of integrity, sometimes difficulties arose. They were occasionally stubborn (before they were ready to change or in refusing to comply with norms), or impatient, outspoken, and rebellious. At other times they were confused, moody, supersensitive, and irritable. In the long run, however, they became more oriented to the present, spontaneous and impulsive, perhaps particularly as they tried to be more fully open, honest, and real with others.[5]

For students as growing, experimental and searching as these, occasional "trauma" might be expected. The "trauma" identified in the data were reported to have occurred at a rate slightly above average. "Emotional or psychological difficulties" were proportionately highest among such "trauma" (24/44: 14 expected). Yet these students handled their "trauma" much more successfully than did most. They adequately faced and coped with many growth situations from which others held back in fear. Of the 14 interviewees in this O-type, only one seemed to be in a particularly "bad place" psychologically at the end of four years, and she was nevertheless considerably further developed and healthy than when she started college.

In general, O-type 4's students successfully trusted or depended on themselves and others along their path to growth. And their orientation to growth may be expected to continue. As graduating seniors they

---

[5]This is a major overlap with the people in O-types 1, 7 and 6.

placed much greater emphasis on concerns about identity than, for example, on concerns about finances. Unlike many other students, they stil have/take/make or need time to explore further. More than most students, they reported developing an approach to life involving gradual change and experimentation. Although still sources of insecurity for some, both career choice and marriage could wait. A somewhat high proportion (28/44) were not sure when they would be married, but they tended to accept their sexuality rather than suspend or deny it. Their goals have tended strongly to move away from desires to be middle-class housewives in "sterile" suburbia--almost everyone in the groups wanted at least something "on the side." While "liberation" sometimes reached equal levels (although less consistently and in sometimes different ways) among the smaller proportions of women in O-types 6, 1, and 7, the women in O-type 4 tended to be considerably more "liberated" than is typical for the women in the sample as a whole.

A major threat for some of these women, however, was one that involved retreat to dependence, repression, and lack of integrity. The perspectives of their intellects and the directions implied by their values have not always found full personal implementation or public statement. For example, while some have already faced their parents regarding their beliefs and life styles, others haven't. Some have not made their more radical perspectives on society counted. Among their peers, however, they usually tried to live as they believed. But for a few there exists a real threat of regression to their earlier forms of dependence on other's goals or values.[6] However, further openness in the next couple of years may well make the gains of most of them safe from the ravages of social pressure and from their own insecurity, so that they can continue to develop life styles suitable for relatively free people.

---

[6]For example, at the end of her second year one girl among them, regarding much of her future and a man, said, "I guess it depends on what he has in mind for himself." As seniors they accepted the choices of life as more their own.

O-TYPE 5: THE RELIGIOUSLY LIBERAL SUBJECT-ORIENTED ACHIEVERS

As entrants the students in O-type 5 (33 males, 20 females) were relatively liberal and independent, especially religiously, but also with respect to their perspectives on life and the world around them, and they were fairly open to the realm of ideas. They were less opposed than were most of the groups to allowing students to indulge in premarital sex or to use marijuana and alcohol, and they had relatively high expectations regarding the proportions of students likely to be using drugs on their respective campuses. However, their liberalism extended less to political questions than to acceptance of the personal freedoms listed, and they were about average on dimensions of political conservatism. Their educational aspirations, as well as their families', tended to be marginally above average (even though social norms would imply lower aspirations for the 38 percent who are women).

These O-type 5's students were found preponderantly in the more liberal and/or large impersonal school environments, and they tended not to prefer "select," private schools. They came largely from urban and suburban public schools rather than from small-town, rural, or religious high schools.

For better or for worse, and with commitment or without, O-type 5's students were usually fairly studiously involved in their schooling. They usually accepted or otherwise complied with the sanctions of academia. Although headed for relatively high status occupations, they tended to think in terms of being competent at their subjects, being happy at their work, or working because they had to, rather than in terms of being monetarily successful or of acquiring a prestigious occupation. While their senior majors for the most part appear to be rather similar to their choices of majors as freshmen,

a "professionalism" may be seen in their searches for a satisfying career within their fields. For example, five completed engineering majors, but only one planned to work in engineering. However, directly or indirectly, insecurity often played an important role in their approach to academic life. The harried tension of never-finished academic striving and worry was in part in conflict with a lack of other self- and interpersonal development.

The students in O-type 5 were not usually very socially competent. They were not socially affiliative or party-goers. A helping-humanitarian interest in people was not usually prominent. They weren't much involved in student government or clubs. Sports were relatively unimportant for them.

They tended to be social introverts, and most felt self-conscious and inhibited in general. Although they reported being no more socially dissatisfied than average, they felt some degree of jealous resentment of others' interpersonal success and of others' freedom to let go and enjoy themselves. They had a small number of close friends and interpersonal closeness, openness and self-expression were real problems for many of them.

Some, particularly but not exclusively among the males, had not yet really begun heterosocial relations. Others accepted a slow, stiff, or superficial drift forward. Still other males poorly managed themselves in one or more not very deep relationships. Among both sexes there seemed to be some rebellion against parents--particularly against the parent of the opposite sex--which had consequential interpersonal ramifications. Some of the women rationalized their low degree of heterosexual contact with the belief that they needed to have a man who was involved in work that was extremely parallel to their projected occupations. In contrast, and despite their own achievements, the identities of many of the other women were still

highly contingent upon the directions that their man was, or would be, taking. But a few of both sexes (proportionately more women) seemed to be keeping more satisfactorily abreast of their peers in hetero-social development.

Despite academic success, they were no more likely than were the other students to have been satisfied in general with their college experience. Academically, their strong point was working (studying); even in classes they were not usually expressive or articulate. Their dispositions and majors were such that they were not very involved with faculty, except with reference to subject matter, and no more than most students did they see faculty as truly interested in students.

These students were somewhat "intellectual" in a "scientific" rather than in a "humanities" sense. As a group, they had relatively high proportions majoring in engineering, math-computers, and biological sciences (18/53), and a large number (but average proportion) were in the social sciences (16/53). Although they remained fairly open to ideas in general, their learning and intellectuality tended to be relatively more confined to academic approaches and disciplines. While they more than average indicated their interest to continue on to graduate school, they reported only an average focus on their own intellectual interests (artistic endeavor-appreciation, reading, and self-examination and self-discovery). And they reported at only an average rate that they were especially influenced by contemporary and other literature (including nonfiction).

Although some never admitted and/or recognized any limitations in their academic emphasis, others came to question (or be in conflict with) their scholastic orientations. Some of the questioners struggled forward in other areas, sometimes in very small steps. A few became genuinely dedicated to their fields, but others began to seek life "on

the side" and/or try to find a way out of their various "confinements." For this subgroup, occupations became secondary in importance. However, this rarely meant forgoing good grades.

For most of these students an overemphasis on academic effort was partly a defense. Some of these students withdrew into their fields, with more closure to and curtailment of other possibilities, even though the rewards of academia were not always those that most had meaning for them. Insecurity, previously established competence, lack of broad experience, parental aspirations, and lack of other strong values were factors related to their lack of initiative, experimentation, and self-assertiveness. Defensively, many of them protected themselves with a critical eye for imperfections--focused on others or on where they might have acted. As a group, they sought counseling of various types somewhat more than average.

As a result of their strong but narrowly academic orientations, the students in O-type 5 usually underwent less than average change. Interests and pursuits did broaden some. General maturation proceeded apace except in some areas. As seniors, they were on the whole only a little less "well-adjusted" than when they were freshmen. But they became more socially introverted and they opened themselves more slowly than did most to their own inner feelings.

The radical-conservative dimension was another of average change. They became somewhat more politically liberal, but as seniors they were still about average among the students in this sample. They were influenced somewhat more than average by national-international political events and by on-campus turmoil, but they weren't very likely to have reported becoming more sociopolitically aware. They did, however, become a little more disillusioned with America. But their introversion and their attachment to academic striving tended to limit their support

of protest for student determination of rules and requirements as well as for other campus-related causes. Although they reported becoming more radical and active, their level of protest regarding off-campus issues was also no more than average.

They continued on a path of becoming more religiously liberal, remaining among the least religious of the groups. Values and life meaning remained important questions for some, particularly as their identification with academic achievement waned. Some will look for challenge in their work, some to other interests almost entirely. Some are just now seeking within themselves for values and/or attempting to pursue long-desired growth (especially interpersonally). A few have humanitarian or political aims which relate to life meaning. But many were achievementally drifting forward, seemingly without values integral to themselves. Fortunately, many have undergone slow changes in awareness that may yet facilitate further growth.

O-TYPE 6: THE INTELLECTUALS

The students grouped in O-type 6 (19 females, 12 males) tended to come from suburban and big city environments and moderate to liberal family backgrounds. On entrance to college, this group was more likely than most to be open to ideas, to be independent in their perspectives on life and the world around them, and to take an intellectual disposition toward their learning. In general, they relied less than the other students on simplistic models and formulas and they also saw themselves as (and wanted to be) more complex and deep. They adhered less to traditional American values than did most of the groups and they were not as materialistic. They were more likely than most groups to accept premarital sex and student use of marijuana and alcohol. They were also more liberal religiously. They were very conscious of political events and more than most groups tended to favor civil rights and free speech and oppose the Vietnam War.

Their college-related objectives were oriented more toward self-development, a broad general acquaintance with a variety of topics, and growth in the area of critical thinking than toward vocational concerns. As freshmen, there was some diversity among their majors, but the tendency was toward the arts, humanities, and social sciences in which 28 of 31 eventually majored. Despite the high proportions of women in the group, they (and their families) tended to be moderately ambitious in terms of the amount of education they desired. But they expressed a desire for less competition than did the other O-types. As a group, they were the least conventionally "collegiate" in orientation, and athletics were and remained particularly unimportant for them in comparison to most of the groups. But they tended to be expressive social extroverts who easily involved themselves with others.

The college environments of the students in O-type 6 were most likely to have been institutions with moderate to liberal orientations, but they were not found in high proportions among four-year persisters at the large and impersonal but "liberal" university studied.[1]

On entrance these students were highly committed to academic learning and achievement, and the liberality and intellectual independence of their backgrounds facilitated a ready adjustment to academia, as did their capacity for social interaction. As seniors they were quite expressive about intellectual matters and they were one of the two O-types most involved with faculty. However, their very attachment to academic learning and to an intellectual life and its values, their occupational and status aspirations, as well as their efforts to gain power or to change the system from within, brought conflict into their lives and in some ways tended to serve not only as facilitators but also as hindrances to their overall development. The group tended to move along several interrelated paths of change.

One of the most noticeable signs of their change during college was related to becoming less "well-adjusted" psychologically. (At entrance they were about average on this dimension.) Some became more anxious because they limited themselves too much to the academic (and didn't much broaden or reevaluate). Others became more anxious at their slow pace in academia. Others yet faced anxiety as achievement of limited academic goals became a more insufficient source of satisfaction and they had to face the threat of seeking new experiences. In coping with the impersonality, authority and tradition in academia,

---

[1] However, the senior nonrespondents at the multiversity and at some of the other schools had freshman OPI profiles that suggest that O-types 1 and 6 may be slightly underrepresented in this sample of persisters from the 7 schools.

some of these students faced a high level of frustration, and though somewhat defensive and fearful of venturing, they tended to be somewhat thrown back upon themselves to seek new approaches and solutions to the problems of life. Others could not so readily see the limitations of their lives and the source of their anxiety, and remained more exclusively academic in their approach to life.

But because of the more personalized education they were able to get and the generally substantial growth that they incurred during their college years, compared to the other students they expressed slightly less than average dissatisfaction with their college experience as a whole, and with the faculty's interest and concern about students. But many were nevertheless dissatisfied with or questioning of their earlier life styles and projected futures, academia, and the U.S.A. Generally speaking, although academic narrowness limited the growth and potential contribution of these students, most of them lessened academia's hold on their lives (a hold in part based on their own insecurity). As seniors (and competent students) they put no more than an average emphasis on or time into their studies. Despite the fact that they averaged the best grades of any O-type (with competition from the students in O-types 5 and 8 especially), only an average proportion were planning to immediately continue their education. And despite their extensive involvement with faculty, faculty were mentioned at a rate only somewhat above average as especially important influences on their lives.

The frustration of seeking learning, fulfillment, and power or reform in academia was also sometimes instrumental in increasing the radicalism of the students in O-type 6, particularly as some noted academia's role as handmaiden to a more conservative surrounding society. (As entrants they were fairly liberal but not really very radical.) The dynamic descriptions of social conditions implied in such concepts as racism, imperialism, and repression had more real

meaning for these students than for most others. As a group they reported the highest degree of political influence on their lives--by events in the national-international sphere and by on-campus turmoil. They were among the most politically active of any of the O-types, both in terms of national-international and campus causes.[2] Compared to the other students, although they perhaps thought they had more control of their destiny, as seniors they were also less likely than most of the students (except in O-types 1 and 2) to see a rosy future ahead for themselves or for their country.

Another aspect of their "worsening" adjustment was that they became more socially introverted. (But as seniors they were average among the students in this sample in introversion-extroversion.) For the most part, this change was part of becoming more reflective about themselves, others, and the world in general, and it facilitated involvement with many kinds of more individualized learning. Despite their increased introversion, for example, they more than the other groups reported coming to feel more self-confident and outgoing (partly, no doubt, as a result of their proven ability to cope with academia). In becoming more introverted, many of these students reduced insecurity-related patterns such as reassurance-seeking and status-seeking, which involved estensive but often superficial communication, and instead began to emphasize more relevant and meaningful communication (albeit sometimes over-intellectualized).

Interpersonally, some were in poor relationships and some were not as yet very far along in their heterosocial development, but still others could match their growth and development against that of most other students. As a whole they had a somewhat above average number of

---

[2]Their efforts through student government, however, were somewhat below average, and they were marginally lower than average in their emphasis on a more personally benevolent approach to others or social problems.

close friends who were drawn more from academic-intellectual than purely social circles. Although their outspoken sophistication and desire for leadership roles sometimes made them seem arrogant and they lost proportionately more "valued friends" than the other groups, their openness to their inner selves and their capacity for self-expression were important facilitators of change. All in all, both friends and love relationships were reported at an average rate to have been especially important influences.

Compared to the other groups, the students in O-type 6 put a greater emphasis on self-examination and self-development, and they reported greater self-knowledge to have been an important college-years development. Reported "trauma" were somewhat above average but were probably also instrumental in stimulating self-examination and reevaluation. Their report of increased autonomy (despite their considerable intellectual independence at entrance) was at least average, and suggests some found yet greater self-determination with respect to their academic orientation and sociocultural and parental expectations. (They were also least likely to report that parents had been an especially important influence on them during college, and they had more "serious financial difficulties.") Despite increased awareness, however, many were not very conscious of the interaction of intellectuality, achievement, status or power, and insecurity in their lives.

While often lessening their emphasis on purely college-related learning, their own intellectual interests (artistic endeavor-appreciation and reading) were very important foci for them. They also reported the highest degree of influence by contemporary and other literature (including nonfiction). Even though the females outnumbered males by a ratio of three to two, their rational-scientific dispositions (as well as the esthetic) continued to be more developed than did those of the students in other O-types. In terms of change and development,

they more than the other groups reported an increased learning orientation and a greater ability to think critically.

Although as seniors they were fairly radical in their perspectives, many continued to remain fairly limited in their approaches to life. Their life styles, although perhaps significantly "deviant" by conventional American standards (e.g., ragarding some use of marijuana, and a thorough acceptance if not practice of premarital sex), were not, for example, as radical as were those of the students in O-types 1 or 4.[3] Although as seniors even more than as freshmen the students in O-type 6 stood out for their rejection of simplistic views and social "acceptability" for its own sake, and although they became even less religious, they generally conducted themselves in apparently "responsible" and academically "acceptable" ways. "Counterculture" influences (such as marijuana, LSD, consciousness expansion, sex, nature, and Eastern religions), and even therapy and groups, were reported only at average to have been especially important influences in their lives. And despite a relatively extensive concern with political events, most of their actual activity was relatively noncontroversial.

While intellectuality and an openness to ideas and experimental structures[4] were among their greatest strengths, and although the trend was distinctly toward more breadth and less emphasis on the academic-intellectual, a sizeable minority of this group remained over-attached to these important but limited avenues. And because of insufficient breadth of experience in nonacademic areas, some of those who most severed their identities from academically credited learning tended to

---

[3] As seniors they were as likely as any other group to be living in unregulated circumstances such as apartments.

[4] All 31 preferred a college mostly experimental rather than mostly traditional. This proportion was nearly matched, however, by the students in O-types 4, 7, and 1, and was closely approached by the students in O-types 2 and 5.

show some similar insecurities in escapist passtimes or in seeking an identity in the shadow of a husband. But almost all of the students in O-type 6 had intellectual or academic capabilities on which they could rely, most had begun to develop a wider range of capabilities and values as well, and some had made considerable progress in their development. As a whole, they started college as advanced students in many respects, their overall level of development remained ahead of most of the other groups, and their rate of change was probably exceeded by only a few groups.

O-TYPE 7: THE AVERAGE STUDENTS WHO CHANGED

In terms of antecedents, the students grouped into O-type 7 (33 males, 14 females) were the least definitive of any O-type.[1] However, it is an important O-type to understand, since the group is one of very substantial change.[2]

Although nearly at average among the students in the sample on all of the freshman measures, the students in O-type 7 were a little less open to abstract ideas and were not quite as independent in the perspectives on religion, society, and life. However, a degree of competitiveness may have been important in their willingness to proceed forward, and somewhat of a disposition toward a responsible, logical, and problem-solving approach to life may also have been facilitative.[3]

While found in at least small numbers at every college studied, O-type 7's students were mostly to be found at institutions which had a broad and moderately liberal program and were located in large cities.

---

[1] If any conclusion can be drawn from this lack of differentiation from the "average" in this sample, perhaps it is this: In a fairly rich environment students who have not been unduly limited by previous conditions may well find their way to substantial growth. The students in O-type 7 did not have the extra advantages of some, but neither did they have strong patterns of developmental limitation which were so clearly apparent in many of the other groups. It may be relevant too that they are primarily males; perhaps their parents more readily granted them greater freedom to make their own personal and interpersonal decisions in life.

[2] If the avenues of learning traversed by this group could be adopted for or made more available to many other "average" students, the college experience as a whole could be more facilitative of human development.

[3] Their average freshman scores were about 53.50 on these three dimensions.

Despite their only average scores on dimensions of intellectual autonomy, it is clear from the interviewees' materials that the students in O-type 7 generally had a serious desire to learn, and that they welcomed freedom and responsibility into their personal lives. During college most of them were actively involved with many facets of their environments. For example, as seniors they reported (at an above average rate) that diverse exposure to and wide-ranging conversations with others were especially important influences on them during college. A fair proportion also seemed to have undergone impactful long-term developmental experiences in some nonacademic area. As seniors they also reported more than did any of the other groups that they had become more experimental and were changing gradually.

The interviewing revealed another important trait of the students in O-type 7. They seem to have had (or soon developed) an early propensity to be real about themselves and with others in relationships.[4] Although they were as defensive as the average student, they did not seem to strive to make "good" impressions to gain artificial approval or status from peers, adults, or society. If anything, they perhaps sought to improve themselves. And despite a degree of very American rigidity in some premises, many used their rational-analytic capacity rather independently. For example, many soon determined that premarital sex was o.k. if it was without false pretenses. "Aggressive" defenses seemed to help many of them face new events, although without some openness to learning, interpersonally and in general, they would presumably have been much less likely to change.

Over the course of their college careers the students in O-type 7 moved from average to a somewhat "better" than average "adjustment," psychologically speaking. They became more personally integrated and

---

[4]This is also seen in O-types 1, 4, and 6.

somewhat less anxious, and they showed an increased concern about others. But unlike many students who became "better adjusted," they generally did not do so at the expense of other growth. It was this other growth--growth in awareness of themselves and life, and growth in independence of perspective--that most differentiated them from other, more average senior students. Without more than an average number of "trauma," they successfully accepted much more of the complexity and conflict of life and of their inner selves into their conscious lives. By the time they were seniors, they emphasized self-discovery, -examination, -awareness, and self-development slightly more than did the students in any other O-type, and they were more likely than average to report that they became more knowledgeable about themselves.

As suggested by the growing intellectual independence of these students, massive change was again the story in the political arena. Despite an interest in politics that was no stronger than average when they were freshmen, they were somewhat more open than average to learning from the events of the day. As seniors they reported at a rate somewhat above average that they had been especially influenced by national-international events (e.g., the War in Vietnam, Third World movements, government leadership), and by on-campus turmoil. Even their nationalism seemed based more on the ideals the country supposedly represents, and they tended to examine society with basic principles rather than with slogans and prejudices. As a result, many rationally devised more radical perspectives and conclusions.

By the time they were graduating seniors they were as liberal or radical politically as any other O-type. They were less afraid of socialist and radical campus organizations than the other groups, and they most accepted that the various racial groups and organizations in the country should "do their own thing." Many of them saw racism, imperialism, and repression in the basic fabric of American society, and took account of such perceptions in their thinking. As seniors

they were more likely than average to report among important developments that they became more sociopolitically aware, and as a group they most indicated an ongoing interest in national and international events. Their degree of protest was about average regarding campus-related causes and above average in the national-international sphere.

The students in O-type 7 not only became more sociointellectually independent but also more intellectually-oriented and intellectually expressive. They became more involved with and open to abstract ideas and theories, and as they devised more complex worldviews their understanding increased. While only slightly above average in emphasizing their own intellectual interests (reading, art), they were more likely than most to report that contemporary and other literature (including nonfiction) had been an especially important influence on them during college. They also pursued the development of more of their esthetic capacities, which formerly had taken a back seat to their logical-rational dispositions.

But despite their increasing disposition and capacity to deal with intellectual matters, and their integrative approach to learning, at the end of four years they were often more likely than the other groups in the sample to be critical of academia and to have a lessened interest in formal learning. More than the other groups, they favored greater student determination of program content and rules. Their involvement with and influence by faculty was about average, as was the amount of time and emphasis they put into studying. Although they averaged lower grades than did most of the other groups, an average proportion of O-type 7's students indicated that they planned to attend graduate school in the next year. Academia's (and society's) approach to learning and certification for careers had "turned off" many of these students, but because of their other growth (in which the overall environments of their schools played an important role),

they reported only an average level of dissatisfaction on the whole with their education.

The students in O-type 7 did however search for better academic involvements. Their plans shifted to better fit changing life goals and to avoid "grinding" or "irrelevant" schoolwork. For example, as entrants there were six of them interested in medicine-related fields and two in law. As seniors, there were none interested in the medical fields and 10 in law (almost three times the expected number). Higher proportions than expected were also going into scientific research, and architecture and environment, and despite the high proportion of males in the group, an average proportion were going into others-oriented work such as teaching. Their identities, however, were rarely based on academic competence or a "professional" identification with a (future) occupation.

They did however have goals and meaning in their lives. Although major personal change made organized religion unimportant for most, they usually retained or acquired values associated with a belief in humanity and in helping others, in developing themselves, and in social justice. Although their "adjustment" and average social extroversion made in-system involvement relatively easy, the moral-political consciousness of many of these students created dilemmas about how to apply themselves.

A new moral and political view of life had other implications as well for the students in O-type 7. They reported moving toward a self-actualization that implied "being" today while "becoming" tomorrow, and in the process they came to have less faith in planning a future for themselves and in America's future in general. While "counterculture" influences were reported only at average to have been especially important, the "new morality," which included the acceptance of marijuana and of living together before marriage, now made more sense than the old.

They saw more of a generation gap than did the average student, and felt it in their own lives. One-sixth of them--the second highest rate--reported that they had experienced a "severe family break." Rather than relent on their honest beliefs or acquiesce in silence, many took a course of integrity, confronted problems, and sometimes broke with unaccepting parents over questions of politics, morality, and life styles.

Interpersonally, their emphasis on "real" relationships and their moderate level of social extroversion involved them in an all-around and varied (but "average") social life ranging from intimate intercourse to parties, bull-sessions, student government and clubs, and sports. Their relationships seem to have been somewhat more successful than were those of the students in most of the groups. They had an average number of close friends, and such friends as well as love relationships were reported at a rate slightly above average to have been especially important influences on their lives during college.

But despite substantial development interpersonally (and perhaps partly because of the great spread of effort and interests necessary to extend their growth beyond a rather developmentally limited "average"), the students in O-type 7 had often not yet had a chance (or taken time) for extensive search for the keys to their own interpersonal defenses. "Success" and growth, interpersonally and in general, provided only indirect stimulus to explore their more intimate personality organizations. Some used rationalizing or abstracting defenses with which they unconsciously minimized the importance of their underlying feelings, particularly feelings of weakness and of a need for others. Some were overcontrolling of other emotions as well, and this sometimes limited the depth of their exchange and potential commitment to others. For many, "aggressive" defenses, together with rationalization and a good facility with words, put the burden of their interpersonal learning too much on others. In addition, while some of the women in the group were

moving toward more fully independent identities, others were still looking outside of themselves for a man to provide some extra guidance in their lives. But their esthetic growth as well as their increasing complexity, independence of perspective, and openness to their inner selves were important steps toward enhancing their consciousness and self-understanding, and toward becoming more sensitive to others. And their overall growth (which seemed likely to continue), already impressive in its extent, seemed to provide an adequate foundation for continued growth in the future.

O-TYPE 8: THE EMOTIONALLY DISSONANT INTELLECTUALS

The students classified in O-type 8 (39 females, 16 males) more often than most of the other groups came from small towns, rural areas, and private schools, and manifested fairly strong religious affiliations and attachments. While they had a strong orientation toward ideas, they were moderately conservative personally, fairly close to their not-very-liberal parents, and not very independent in their perspectives on life and the world around them. Psychologically speaking, they had a moderately high level of self-esteem and were "well-adjusted" to the demands upon them in their high school and family milieus. In high school they were usually expressive social extroverts who were involved in leadership roles, both academically and in extracurricular activities.

Their college environments covered a wide range, but they were rare at large impersonal universities and at colleges where contact and stimulation from faculty was not readily available.

The people in O-type 8 were very others-oriented students who were in some ways primed for academic learning. They were ready to involve themselves with people and to follow the intellectual leadership of the faculty, and they were unlikely to object to the rather compartmentalized academic approaches to the liberal arts. From academic and other sources they grew more than average in the degree to which they took independent perspectives on life and the world around them. But this growth brought many problems and much conflict into their lives because they were not as prepared to go forward <u>personally</u> as they were intellectively. Strongly entrenched parental, religious, and societal values and behavior patterns served as one pole of conflict and the more modern values with which they came into contact represented the other. Conflict also arose because of their defensive systems of obtaining approval and reassurance from others, as different

social situations (society, academia, parents, peers, and prospective mates) exerted expectations and demands which did not coincide. Their defensively "together" but insecure others-orientation and emotional entrapment in the past (and a usually stereotypically feminine intellectual disposition which made little use of the rational faculty) hindered insight, absorption, independent action, and the development of a more balanced personality, life style, or perspective on themselves.

While some of these students more adequately coped with these conflicts, many of them as seniors were rather "lost." Generally speaking, they maintained their particular style of psychological "adjustment" despite its conflict with new perspectives and newly emerging feelings from within. Neither their surface behavior nor their understanding reflected the underlying strain on their defenses. Committed experimentation or personal "risk-taking"on their part tended to have been weak or premature for their apparent level of development, and so by the time they were seniors most of them had not found new life styles and personal integrations. For many of them, talking was easier than doing, but others became confused or had difficulties because of violation of an un-uprooted past. These problems were most noticeable (but not confined to) the interpersonal level.

Most of these students had great difficulty being truly open about themselves with others, even though intellectual and casual conversation was and remained easy for them.[1] Some continued to manifest personality patterns associated with social or intellectual status-seeking. While on surface appearances they often conveyed impressions of being very

---

[1]This is one way in which social extroversion may facilitate defenses which conceal underlying insecurity.

friendly, outgoing and "together," they were usually afraid of letting themselves out, or of admitting "weakness" or "unacceptable" feelings or thoughts (at times even to themselves). As seniors they reported being fairly benevolently helpful and humanitarian in their feelings toward others and they became even more philanthropic (rather than cynical or alienated), as if some were placing yet greater reliance on their concern for and involvement with others to solve their difficulties and provide meaning in their lives. While 41 of 55 (30 expected) indicated that they had "romantic conflicts or disappointments," the imbalances noted above and some lack of depth in their relationships is suggested by the fact that 31 of 55 (16 expected) still lived in dormitories as seniors.

Although dormitory living let them remain "leaders," it tended to limit their contact with students who sought freer pastures. Nevertheless, their extrovertive and expressive interactions, including romantic "trauma," were settings for some important learning. (Included among their involvements was some participation in student government and clubs, and they had an average emphasis on "social" life.) They reported at a rate higher than average that the new experiences of diverse exposure to and wide-ranging conversations with others were especially important influences on them during college. Friends and close relationships were also important influences. As seniors these students reported a fair degree of emphasis on self-examination and self-development, and they felt they had become more knowledgeable about themselves. But while considerable gain from interpersonal and academic sources was evident, they could not easily see or alter their behaviors, and the dissonance between their perspectives and their lives or experience weakened the reality and foundation of their apparent learning. However, for the immediate future they still sought growth, and expected considerations involving identity to be more important than, for example, concerns about finance.

Dissonance and unsettled life styles were again suggested by the contrasts in the religious stances and intellectual values of the students in O-type 8. These students reported themselves to be more religious than most of the other O-types (on the average, they were moderately liberal Protestants in affiliation but professed strong religious feelings). But they also saw themselves as moderately liberal personally and somewhat less beholden to societal expectations than they publicly behaved. Although neither they nor their friends were all that much like "hippies" and compared to the other students their endorsement of some of the freedoms of the "new morality" was only marginally above average, they generally accepted (at least intellectually) premarital sex and living together before marriage. This acceptance and some of their sexual involvements conflicted with some religious values and was almost always at variance with the fairly rigid values with which they had been raised.

But their openness to ideas and intellectual dispositions as well as their expressive sociability and dependence on others were important in their very strong academic involvements. The students in O-type 8 continued to put considerable stress on learning, especially academic learning, and they reported that they gained a stronger orientation to learning as a result of their college experience. They were virtually tied with the "intellectuals" (O-type 6) in their involvements with faculty, and faculty were of greater influence for these students. They were very satisfied with their college experience and more than most students believed that faculty were truly interested in and concerned about students. High proportions of these students majored in the arts, humanities, and in the biological sciences, and some were in the social sciences.

Occupationally, there was some diversity in their choices, but a larger proportion than average were going into semi-professional,

others-oriented occupations such as teaching.[2] For most of the women among these students, there were also conflicts involving their roles and identities in life (as was true for the women of most of the groups). While the group as a whole was intellectually capable and got very good grades, their interest in graduate school for the next year was only average. Many had become intellectually sophisticated would-be housewives, but with this role unfilled (as it was for most), such a status was often an additionally confounding factor in their lives, even if they had an occupation toward which to turn.

Politically, they were liberal or liberal-radical, but they had an optimistic view of their capacity to influence the "system." This almost anomalous degree of faith in their and their country's future and current institutions was related partly to a lack of experience and also to some degree of success in their above-average contribution to moderate reform in the limited, structured, and appropriate channels within academia. Compared to the other students, their most liberal stance was with regard to greater student determination of rules, regulations, and program content, but they were the group least likely to report that on-campus turmoil had been especially influential in their lives.[3]

---

[2]The group also included four would-be ministers--almost half of the ministers in the entire sample--and a proportion six times the expected.

While the data from the eleven primary dimensions suggests the possibility that many of these students might successfully integrate a degree of radicalism and considerable religious feeling (as perhaps seen in some modern religious leaders), the histories of the interviewees in the group (N=5) made it seem unlikely that a balance between the self, a commitment to others and social justice, and an understanding of life, was as yet achieved (or even approximated) by more than a few of these students. In addition, many of the students in O-type 8, despite their religiosity (or liberalism), did not seem to be moving in a direction of "religious radicalism," and some showed few signs of deep moral concern.

[3]These students were not found in large concentrations, it should be noted, at institutions at which there was a lot of such support. Neither, on the other hand, did they generate much turmoil.

The liberalism of the students in O-type 8 was second strongest in terms of their openness to ideas, and they also emphasized their own intellectual interests in their senior data. They placed a greater than average emphasis on artistic endeavor and appreciation (especially), and on reading, and saw themselves as somewhat more complex and deep. But intellectual experiences less formally academic did not stand out as impactful for these students. Despite their strong association with the liberal arts, contemporary and other literature (including non-fiction) was reported at only somewhat above average to have been among their especially important influences during college.[4] "Counterculture" and related influences were cited at marginally less than average to have been especially important. In contrast, parents and other adults were among their relatively strong but conventional influences of special importance (not always positively), and although more than average reported a "severe family break," as a group they were of average closeness to their parents. Because of the limitations in the spread of their intellectual and personal lives, they were likely to have missed, held back from, or failed to absorb some of the sources of reasoning and alternatives which might have been of aid to them.

In many ways the college years of the students in O-type 8 were their first when they were free to explore the world without the guardianship of their parents. Their high level of satisfaction with their college experience, socially and in general, in part expressed their liking of growing feelings of personal independence and self-reliance. They reported feeling more autonomous, self-confident and outgoing as they handled more of life's situations.

---

[4]Such literature was reported as a more important influence by O-types 6, 7, 1, and 4, but only O-type 6 put more stress in general on their own intellectual interests.

But even with their liberalization and other growth, the problems cited often remained. Insecurity caused many of them to be unduly dependent on or oriented toward others, to cling to fairly conventional academic, social, and religious paths, practices, affiliations and beliefs, to avoid the personal implications of their intellectual perspectives, and to withhold the reality of themselves in their relationships. At graduation many of them were quite confusedly caught between the modern world (toward which most of them were moving) and the world of their upbringing. Most of them had made great strides in needed directions, but much change usually remained essential if they were to bring about a balance in their lives. Increasing confusion and difficulty in interpersonal relationships may for some serve as stimuli to much needed self-evaluation. Although regression seems quite possible for some, perhaps the future's greater freedom and more experiences beyond the confines of the campus will aid some of them to attain a more open and balanced reintegration.

O-TYPE 9: THE VOCATIONAL-PROFESSIONAL ACHIEVERS

The students in O-type 9 are principally males (43 of 51). They tended to be people with a strong achievement orientation and a desire to "be" something, but at the time of entrance they did not always have a particular vocation or profession in mind. Both they and their parents tended to have high educational aspirations, often looking beyond the bachelor's degree before entrance to college. While in attendance at every institution studied, they perhaps more frequently attended schools with some pretense at fairly traditional (rather than intellectual) prestige.

At entrance, however, these students tended to be somewhat closed to abstract ideas and dependent on simplistic and practical guidelines derived from their backgrounds. Some of this closure to ideas was reflected in a rather narrow but "well-adjusted" and "masculine" (often athletically-oriented and sports-minded) role concept, involving defensiveness against admitting any "weakness" or personal lack. In high school they were more "concerned about social acceptance" than were most groups, and many were involved in competitive, group-against-group status jockeying, informal popularity contests, and pressures to live up to peer role expectations. As a group these students were expressive social extroverts whose outward focus was directed in part toward obtaining reassurance to alleviate underlying doubts and insecurity. With this outward-oriented disposition, and their closure to ideas and competitive "masculine" defenses, they tended to have considerable difficulty with many kinds of insight and self-understanding, and substantial change was rare.

However, the self-expressive extroversion typical of this group facilitated contact with faculty, engagement in traditional and group-organized extracurricular activities, and at least superficial relation-

ships with peers. Since openness to ideas is less academically important in specific vocational or professional pursuits than in the liberal arts in general, and because their achievement-success orientation implied a readiness to follow faculty leadership, their psychic adjustment to their usually semi-conservative institutions and to the requirements of their disciplines was generally fairly easy. However, even though they emphasized studying and vocational preparation throughout college more than did most of the students, their grades were only somewhat above average.

As seniors high proportions were in the physical and biological sciences (including pharmacy), engineering, and business administration, and an average proportion were in the social sciences. Their projected occupations included high proportions in legal, medical-dental-veterinary and psychological fields, in college and university teaching, and in engineering, government or army, and business. By a fair margin, they were the most likely group of students to be planning to continue onto a fifth year or graduate school in the next year.

As might be expected with their goals and social facility, the individuals in O-type 9 saw faculty as more interested in students than did most of the students, and they were generally more satisfied with their college experience. During college they were more involved with faculty than the average student,[1] but they were only at average on a correlated dimension indicating their degree of campus-oriented activism. Regarding the latter interest, their sociopolitical efforts were almost always "within the system," were at times for more conservative causes (e.g., band finances, opposition to administrative interference with fraternity initiations), but also included curriculum reform committees. When asked to indicate their most important college-years

---

[1] O-types 6 and 8 were more involved with faculty.

influences, they mentioned faculty more than did any other group, and no other influence for them was much above average.

Among their reports of change was that they developed a more positive attitude toward learning, became more intellectual in general, and that they became more able to think critically. However, this increasing intellectuality was relative to their somewhat closed and authoritarian perspectives at entrance and their intellectual thinking remained a somewhat one-sided "masculine" scientific-rational-logical. Although their relative emphasis on logical thinking did not change, their values became more like those of professionals and they somewhat broadened their acquaintance with many matters. They moved at almost an average rate toward acquiring more independent perspectives on life and the world around them. Intellectually, however, their principal focus was on career-related material. While they indicated an involvement with intellectual interests of their own, such as reading and art, that was only marginally below average, they were among the lowest groups to report that contemporary and other literature (including nonfiction) had been an important influence on them during college.

They also put less emphasis on self-awareness and self-discovery than did most of the students. For example, they little considered the possibility of pursuing their goals at a less intense pace (or of taking time off during college), or of allowing more time for other growth during these unrepeatable years of youth. Most of them did not seem to have entertained the possibility of using more time to develop insight, to explore beyond convention, to seek better ways of relating to others, or to reevaluate their assumptions with regard to achievement. Some of the students in O-type 9 engaged in so many activities that they seemed to seldom stop running, thus having little time for intrinsic involvement with themselves. Although the less heterosocially competent among them retreated to stressing reinforcement from career- and activity-related efforts, these students on the whole were usually

"successful" in and satisfied with not only their academic life but also their social life, and this created little impetus for self-examination or experimentation.

On the whole, they maintained (with somewhat fewer "trauma" than most) a relatively "well-adjusted" identity which became even more linked to their prospective careers. The students in O-type 9 gave no indication of having spent much time questioning the meanings of life, and religion was rarely a strong factor in their lives--their moderate ties to it continued to lessen without extensive examination or difficulty. And in the future following graduation they saw themselves as more interested in finances than in concerns about identity. Similarly, their drive for achievement/success tended to conflict with any inquiry into more radical or experimental approaches to life--as a group they remained essentially at average on personal and political conservatism-radicalism. They came to college largely for high-status career training, social life, and sometimes a little more breadth, and that was much of what they got.

The achievement or success orientation of the students in O-type 9 seemed to derive from a number of sources, although a unifying theme was found in the general insecurity of most. Sometimes the achievement drives could only be accounted for in the efforts of parents, whether by those of high status expecting their children to achieve likewise, or by those of lower status pushing their sons forward. Some of the students professed strong feelings that they could not let their parents down or that they owed them something as concrete as a high-status position. Some demonstrated a strong drive toward the "ideal" life they perceived in the materialistically and professionally "successful" upper- or substantial-middle class, as manifest in apartments with a view of the bay, salaries of $15,000 a year, nice homes in the suburbs, etc. Others perhaps more insightfully acknowledged a fear to live and operate in the world without considerable security, financial and otherwise.

Much of the achievement motivation and the accompanying closure shown by the students in O-type 9 seemed most interpretable in terms of somewhat poorly directed striving for personal worth, often to compensate for buried feelings of inadequacy and inferiority.

The self-advancing and sometimes hard-driving disposition of most also paralleled a self-centeredness, somewhat restricting open and sincere interpersonal communication. For example, while their involvements in student activities and government were more extensive than average, their motivation in terms of benevolent and humanitarian concern for others was only average. Many of these students soon after entrance sought to join "in-groups" (such as fraternities, cliques, and clubs) for belongingness, to acquire social status, or to assure themselves that they were better or higher than others. While most became more "responsible," proving themselves to parents, society, and themselves with academic achievement, many also engaged (at times to "prove" themselves to peers) in traditional and sometimes rebellious activity, which involved a lot of beer, loud carousing, partying, athletics, and college cheering.

Compared to the other groups, by the time of graduation a larger proportion of the students in O-type 9 (one-third)[2] was married or was about to be married. Despite the fact that as seniors they tended to accept or endorse premarital sex and living together before marriage, when possible many seemed far more oriented toward rapid marriage and settlings down to the business of pursuing career or status. But a few were leaving things more open, some didn't want to be "tied down," and a small proportion (perhaps 15-20%) had not really begun their heterosocial development and would have difficulty doing so. But the lack of

---

[2]But since only a few had plans for marriage in the less immediate future, almost half--an average proportion--didn't know when they would marry.

insight and the aggressive, competitive, and logical-unemotional defenses of these students interfered with closeness, whether with prospective mates or friends, and seemed to foreshadow interpersonal problems in the future. Although they also reported an above-average number of close friends and considerable social activity, neither friends, love and marriage, nor diverse exposure to others in general were reported at more than average to have been important influences for them. Most of these students also continued to have very noticeable elements of "double-standard" morality and were rather chauvinistic in their attitudes and approaches toward women.

The traditional roles and duties in U.S. society can make pressures for achievement quite real. But the most developmentally successful students in O-type 9 were people whose pursuit of success brought them not only the gratification "promised" (good grades, social status), but also (unexpected) personal change, such that they began to put more emphasis on other forms of self-development and possibly on contributive effort to mankind as well, through their professions-to-be. Generally, those who were more involved with a fairly full range of what their environments had to offer were more likely to have grown toward socio-emotional maturity. For a few of these students, prospects seemed relatively bright, although lack of insight and strong, narrowly focused achievement drives usually continued to be problems. For most, however, even should they "succeed" in their efforts to achieve, the underdeveloped and unexplored aspects of their personality seemed likely to create difficulties in the future.

O-TYPE 10: THE INEXPERIENCED SOCIALS

The students in O-type 10 (29 females, 8 males) tended to come from nonsuburban towns and localities of less than 100,000 (29/37). They were among the groups most dependent upon family, local mores, religion, and convention in their perspectives on society, life, and the world around them. They were fairly strongly affiliated with conventional religions. Their values were more likely than those of most students to be based on material concerns and immediate applicability rather than on other or less immediate potentials, and they didn't usually think of themselves as being particularly complex or deep. They tended to be relatively closed to abstract ideas and their rather concrete thinking processes, in accord with their distribution by sex, were more esthetically reactive than logical. Politically, they and their families tended to be about average, but the students were somewhat conservative regarding acceptance of freedom for students to use alcohol, marijuana, and LSD, or to engage in premarital sex.

Socioemotionally they were only a little less "well-adjusted" than average, but except for superficials and business, they were relatively nonexpressive introverts without much of a sense of their inner selves. Both they and their parents had among the lowest educational expectations found in any O-type, and their primary college goals were somewhat more vocational than breadth-oriented or self-developmental. Twenty of them (nine expected) were seeking careers in fields such as teaching. While in attendance at every campus studied, they generally went to the more conservative, "collegiate," and non-experimental colleges and universities.

Many of the students in O-type 10 came from over-regulated or dependency-encouraging backgrounds, or from homes with a very dominating father (or family). Developmentally, such family situations tended to

leave these students behind most others. The development of character, feelings of self-worth, aspirations, and sound defenses with accessible selves tended to be inhibited. These kinds of backgrounds unnecessarily limited early breadth of experience, and they tended to suppress normal expression of many kinds as well as the natural being within. These students usually had to spend a lot of time and energy to deal with their particular developmental lags; further growth and an opportunity for more happiness often seemed predicated upon it. Apparently because of these often vaguely and narrowly perceived needs, and of a lack of previous development of other possibilities, the primary focus of these students during college was on "social" development, usually via conventional avenues.[1]

While they remained about average in extroversion, the students in O-type 10 became quite involved in traditional activities such as student government and clubs. More often than most groups they were also actively involved in a life of dating and parties, and (despite the proportion of women) they were about average in their emphasis on sports. Although they put some value on helping others, their primary need was the development of interpersonal competence, and many still required the aid of their activities (usually structured) for security and/or to develop basic social skills.

Because of their focus on "social" development, and because extensive experiences without considerable regulation were relatively new, the students in O-type 10 cited friends and close relationships,

---

[1] In some respects, their idealized direction of movement was toward a life such as that displayed by O-type 11. However, while there may have been other factors involved, they were not sufficiently competent socially to assume the roles taken by O-type 11 students. But their growth in some respects surpassed that of the students in O-type 11, perhaps because they could not meet the demands of the roles played by these others, more socially "successful" students.

and diverse exposure to and conversations with other peers as paramount among their especially important influences for the four years. They also tried to pull back somewhat from over-direction by, or relationships too restricted to, parents and other adults, but they were not always easily successful.[2] As seniors they more often than most students still lived in dorms (16) and with parents or relatives (6), although an average proportion (10) lived in apartments with others of the same sex.[3] Under these circumstances, the group's reports that they were <u>little</u> "especially" influenced by adult sources and that they would be less likely than average to take personal problems to adult figures suggests their movement away from adults as well as a desire to be yet more fully self-determinant.

The extracurricular activities, friends, and general exposure of the students in O-type 10 was probably a major avenue to most of the growth that occurred for them during college. Most of them changed and matured a good deal, but most usually remained behind their peers. They did however become more independent in their perspectives on life, and they allowed more of their inner feelings to become conscious. Perhaps in part because of their search for greater freedom, they considerably lessened their acceptance of the usually denominational churches and philosophies, but they still retained stronger affiliations and more religious feeling or conviction than most students.

---

[2]Parental pressure systems found among the students in O-type 10 included: mapped out life plans from a strong father; rigidly enforced narrow political and moral viewpoints, with little room for maneuver or freedom; and very parentally-involved lives, with support for dependency and self-restriction or self-denial.

[3]Other types of residences include sororities and fraternities, other school-approved housing, apartments--by oneself, with others of both sexes, and with spouse--and "other."

They also became more emotionally stable, self-confident, and "well-adjusted." They became more socially competent, but part of their "gains" involved acquiring more defenses--defenses which they needed to better withstand loneliness (little deep contact) and inferiority feelings (in part based on comparative developmental lag and continuing parental pressures). For the four years they reported almost an average number of "trauma," including those of the "romantic conflicts or disappointments" variety, but they were the least likely group to report being especially influenced by love or marriage and the least likely to be married and/or to have a marriage pending (despite no ideological objections). Most seemed to have difficulty trusting others and with being "real" or open in their relationships, and even the more sexually experienced among them seemed to have considerable difficulty attaining interpersonal closeness. As seniors, some of them had not yet (or had barely) begun individual heterosocial activity (usually formal dating), some were never-really-attached-party-goers within rather limited circles, some were disentangling unsuccessful relationships and going back to dating, and a few were evolving relationships. Despite their extensive extracurricular involvements and interests, they expressed a little less than average degree of satisfaction, socially and in general, with their college experience.

Partly because of developmental lags and poor relationships, these students tended to be quite uninsightful and rather unknowledgeable about the social and societal reality around them. They also put less than average emphasis on self-awareness, self-examination, and self-development (except "social"), and they remained less complex and deep than average. Their involvement with and influence by political (especially) and "counterculture" philosophies and events was very minimal. Despite considerable "liberalization" and a lessening emphasis on material or status rewards, as seniors they were marginally

more conservative politically than average, particularly personally.[4] But they were at average in favoring greater student determination of rules and academic requirements--perhaps because such concerns were closer to home (dorms) and academic survival (grades, class choice). On the whole, they remained a little more attached to and optimistic about American society and their future in it than did most of the students.

Their relationship with academia was only slightly closer than with the "counterculture." Although they were at average in believing that faculty were truly interested in students and that their departments were cooperative and sociable, they were somewhat below average in involvement with or influence by their professors. Although they came to see the world somewhat less simplistically, they remained little or no more inclined to critical thinking in patterns of academic thought than when they were freshmen. They also remained somewhat closed to the realm of ideas in general, and placed very little emphasis on their own intellectual interests (such as reading or art). Some of their readings were important to them, however, since they reported at average rates that contemporary and other literature (including nonfiction) had been an especially important influence for them.

During college they were average in their emphasis on career preparation and on time and effort spent studying, but they got lower grades than most of the groups and they were among the groups least likely to be continuing on to graduate school. Occupationally, most (19)

---

[4]Even though they tended to be somewhat more personally conservative than most, their average ratings with regard to premarital sex and living together before marriage tended to fall midway between acceptance/endorsement in general, and acceptance in the lives of others --very few disapproved.

still looked forward to others-oriented work such as teaching, although a proportion (12) slightly higher than average "didn't know." High proportions had majored in languages, education, the social sciences, and medical technology.

While a small proportion of students in O-type 10 made up for much of their developmental lag, and almost all grew considerably in some respects, they could not readily catch up or keep up. Even in their areas of greatest gain (independence of perspective and social "adjustment"), as a group they no more than reached a rather poor average. In the area of their greatest concern and effort (social development) their development remained less than average and their relationships remained less complete. They were often too afraid, or slow to trust, in their interactions, and many remained buried in structured formality. Most of their other human potentials remained even less developed, although many adequately acquired some general knowledge, a vocation, or some additional capacities.

O-TYPE 11: THE CONFIRMED "COLLEGIATES"

The students in O-type 11 (N = 33) were mostly females (27).[1] In comparison to the other groups as freshmen, their perspectives on life and the world around them were more dependent upon the values of their parents, home towns, and on the traditional values of society and culture. They felt closer to their parents than did any other group. A higher proportion than in most of the groups were likely to have grown up in nonsuburban towns and localities of less than 100,000 population. They were much more closed to abstract ideas and less able to learn from such ideas than were most of the students, and they did not see themselves as (nor want to be) relatively complex or deep. They were usually traditionally religious in affiliation and were the least religiously liberal of belief. At entrance, they (and their families) were also among the most politically and personally conservative of all of the O-types, especially regarding premarital sex and the use of alcohol and marijuana.

The students in O-type 11 were least interested in change, saw themselves as stable and healthy, and were fairly "well-adjusted" to conventional society. For example, they more strongly than almost all of the other groups endorsed and saw themselves in terms of such socially appropriate values as "good," "safe," "kind," "clean," and "pleasant." Even though most were females, they more strongly than any other group desired a traditional "collegiate" experience, including its considerable emphasis on sports and athletics. They generally attended conservative or small-town colleges with a social or "collegiate" reputation, and they expected less drug usage than other entrants in the sample. Neither they nor their parents had high educational aspirations.

---

[1] Although only two interviewees were available for study, this group's data is among the most distinctive of any O-type.

The family backgrounds of the students in O-type 11 seemed to have channeled the students' insecurity into exaggerated needs for social/societal (and parental) approval, "acceptability," and social status. These heritages also limited the students' perspectives on life (and their prior development) so that not many of them saw, or felt secure enough to pursue, other avenues. They came to college with a fairly set and traditional view of what was expected of them in life, of their goals, and of how they would/should live. They attended institutions where their particular aims were at least somewhat in vogue. In many respects, they subsequently became more involved in or "successful" at, or more afraid to pull out of and more defensively trapped in, the pursuit of these goals. While they underwent some general maturation and some attitudinal liberalization and while for a few there was more consequential change or growth, in many respects most of the students in O-type 11 also became more rigid and, perhaps excepting their original directions, they developed few of their potentials.

In college their careers were ones of high social involvement. They were active in athletic "spirit" groups, sports, organizations and clubs, and student government. They spent most of their time with people, dated often, and went to many dances, parties, and social functions. More than most students they appreciated small, "select," but nonexperimental colleges (such as they attended), and they were much more than average satisfied with their social life.

Despite a heavy emphasis on social life, the students in O-type 11 for the most part had rather superficial relationships and exchange with others. Compared to most of the students, they put much less emphasis on being "real" in their relationships. Instead, they competed for social status in terms of "knowing" many people, belonging to special groups, having status or leadership in traditional extracurricular organizations and student government, being "pleasant"-mannered, and in acquiring

dates or boyfriends. During college they became even more socially extrovertive and others-concerned, but made few gains in their ability to share or commit themselves in a relationship. Although they reported an average of over 13 "close" friends (five more than any other group), such close relationships were reported only at average to have been especially important influences on them during college.[2] They were a little more likely than the other students to be married or engaged, but for 75 percent marriage was still in the somewhat more distant or indefinite future. Catching or attracting men with ambition and social status, and of similar expectations and interests, served as additional reinforcement for some, but even this "success" was no guarantor of the development of their capacity to form a deep or close relationship.

While becoming somewhat less intolerant and judgmental, in many ways the students in O-type 11 became more entrenched in their earlier approaches to life. They were much more satisfied than average with their college careers, became far more well "adjusted" to conventional society's practices and goals, and acquired greater "togetherness" and self-esteem. But this was usually a narrow personal integration, obtained not only by a narrow view of "success" but also by increasing their defensive resistances to other possibilities, and at the expense of much autonomy, breadth, and growth. Psychologically speaking, the emergence of socially "unacceptable" ideas and feelings from within themselves seemed to call forth greater attempts to conceal themselves from others and efforts to maintain their original "adjustment." In general, they were among the groups who were least, and who least became more, aware and acceptant of the great variety of inner human feelings.

---

[2] And despite such large numbers of "close" friends, none of the students in O-type 11 (four expected) reported the "trauma" "loss of valued friend," a datum also illustrating relationships likely to be based on facade and social propriety.

Although they at average levels reported an emphasis on self-awareness and self-examination, their patterns of relating to others and society, and their restricted perspectives on life, usually limited insight substantially.

Many continued to define "success" much as they had in high school. They examined and experimented very little with other possible values and life styles, avoided untried or unstructured paths, and reported fewer "trauma" than did any other group.[3] They became a little more religiously liberal, but as seniors were among the two groups most tied to their original religions and to the particular values with which they had been raised. As seniors they were among the two groups least acceptant of premarital sex (tending on the average to little more than accept it in others' relationships) and of living together before marriage (not quite tending to accept it in others' relationships). "Counterculture" influences (such as marijuana, Eastern philosophy, nature, and sex) were reported as especially important at a rate less than average. Compared to the other students, these students wanted a less complex life, saw themselves as less complex and deep, and continued to view phenomena relatively simplistically.

In parallel to their personal lives, they remained relatively more closed to, and had difficulty learning from, abstract ideas, and they seemed to deny the implications of new information on their beliefs, values, and identity. The students in O-type 11 were somewhat below

---

[3]Their low number of "trauma" also stemmed from their facade of social "acceptability" and a lack of development in their capacity for commitment (which involves openness to pain as well as to joy). For example, seven of these students (above average) reported "parental illness or death" (and they had parents to whom they felt close), and 13 (below average) reported "romantic conflicts or disappointments" (although often in supercial relationships), yet only one--11 expected--reported "emotional or psychological difficulties" (a likely occasional results of these other "trauma").

average in their involvement with reading, art, and other intellectual interests of their own. Fewer than average reported that contemporary and other literature had been especially influential on them during college. Despite having begun college with a below-average degree of independence with which they viewed life and the world around them, they were among the groups who least became more autonomous.

The students in O-type 11 least reported that they became more radical or active during college, or that they became more disillusioned with the United States, and in general they retained a greater faith in and attachment to their place in the country's on-going future. More than for most students their goals remained material-, monetary-, or status-related, and although they felt concerned about a vocation, they expected their lives to involve fairly traditional home and community roles. They were less likely than most of the students to believe in a generation gap and as seniors were closest to their parents. Slightly more than any other group they reported parents and other (nonfaculty) adults to have been especially important influences during college. As seniors their dependence on parental and societal values was paralleled by the regulated or restricted circumstances in which they lived (over three-quarters, the highest proportion in any O-type, lived in dormitories and sororities/fraternities).

While liberalizing" somewhat politically, in most respects the students in O-type 11 remained conservative and as seniors were one of four distinctly conservative O-types. Although they at average supported reform efforts for greater student self-determination of academic requirements and college regulations, they were more opposed than almost all of the other groups to the existence and the goals of the broader forms of student protest. Compared to the other groups they were less interested in and little influenced by national and international affairs and did little abstract political conceptualizing.

With some exceptions among the married females in the group, as seniors these students were much more than average "vocationalist" in orientation. Learning skills for making a living was important, and they usually had definite occupations to which they had become more committed, by choice or default. More than most of the students they felt upwardly mobile, but they were relatively unlikely to expect to continue on to graduate school. In at least some respects, they may have been somewhat open to faculty. They reported being somewhat more influenced by and involved with faculty than the other students, and much more than average saw faculty as being truly concerned and interested in students. However, their strongest statement relative to the other students was that they saw their departments as being much more cooperative, personal, and social. Although they studied slightly more than most students, they obtained among the poorest grades of any O-type.

Their majors were little different as seniors than they had indicated as freshmen, with above average proportions in the biological sciences and education. Occupationally, 21, more than twice the number expected by chance, intended to go into teaching or similar other-oriented professions; others were planning to employ their biological sciences majors in semi-technical professions, and a few had higher order goals in medical, dental, veterinary, or psychological fields.

On the whole, the students in O-type 11 set out to adapt themselves to or live a particular role, and during the time of their college careers, they were generally "successful" at it. Their gains included the development of yet stronger defenses (an imperviousness to criticism, for example) and a socially "acceptable" way of life, attainment of social status among a selected group, and acquisition of a college credential and some knowledge. But their role had many limitations of which they were little aware, and its boundaries sharply limited how they could be, act, think, and believe, and they had little experience at simply being

themselves. Their underlying fears generally dominated their choices and perspectives and kept them from learning, and they usually did not recognize the difference between their role and their real self. Through the time of graduation most of them continued to try to live this rather idealized but outdated "collegiate" role, and though the role may enable some fulfillment, it seems likely that these students will need much more depth, breadth, and realism than they acquired during college.

O-TYPE 12: THE CLOSED AND UNCHANGING MALES

The students in O-type 12 (N = 41 males) entered college with a strong resistance to abstract ideas and an ingrained difficulty using or integrating ideas for learning or other personal development. They more highly valued materialism and immediate practical results or "success" than did the other students.[1] Compared to the other students, their goals in college were oriented more toward acquisition of vocational training than toward the development of the capacity to think critically or to broaden themselves. They usually attended institutions where vocational courses of study were offered, with evident vocational and/or athletic subcultures.

While their social/societal level of "adjustment" was a little above average, compared to most males these students had very inflexible "masculine" role concepts. They were more competitive than most and were defensively closed to admitting "weakness" or personal need, and to learning from others. Although they usually had a strong interest or involvement in athletics, their involvement in other activities was limited. In high school they had participated in fewer activities of an artistic, expressive, creative, or scientific nature than the other students, and they saw themselves as somewhat less complex and deep. They also lacked interest in national and international affairs and they tended to be somewhat more conservative than average, particularly with regard to civil rights of minorities and to the organizations advocating extension of such rights.

---

[1]The data also indicate than to a small extent more of them than average came from integral families of somewhat low socioeconomic status.

The rather rigid stance of these students toward ideas, as well as their very "masculine" stereotype, were often associated with a strong dependence on their father's or family's values and goals. Unfortunately, they were usually too insecure to more fully seek and live their own lives, and appearances sometimes to the contrary notwithstanding, they often had strong needs for support and reassurance. They seemed to have exeptional difficulty in situations in which nonconventional values were at all prevalent (or dominant). They were usually unable to admit to or deal with underlying fears, however, and they tended to avoid untried paths, to take refuge in making critical judgments of others, and to limit themselves (or retreat) to friends, associates, and groups with nearly identical interests, values, and life styles. Because of this lack of circulation and their "masculine" closures--to ideas, to themselves, and to the influence of others--the students in O-type 12 were among the groups who least developed their potentials during college.

Despite the fact that these students entered college with a low degree of independence in their beliefs, values, perspectives, and identity, they did not become much more autonomous during college, and in fact grew least of all the groups in this domain.[2] While they did encounter and come to accept some new things, they sometimes seemed to do so disassociatively, expressing approval but not integrating the new idea, belief, or way into their lives. As seniors they were among the groups most personally conservative.[3] Even though all males with only an average (and somewhat lessening) affiliation with religion, as seniors they were less likely than most of the students to accept or endorse premarital sex and they tended to accept living together before marriage

---

[2]Their raw difference scores on the multidimensional measure of independence (Dimension 11) were even lower than those groups who had freshman scores much nearer the ceiling of the relevant scales.

[3]The two slightly more personally conservative O-types were composed mostly of females.

only in others' relationships. Among their especially important influences almost none reported any aspects of the "counterculture,"[4] even though such influences were plentiful in the environments of most. Because of little experimentation and search, they reported fewer "trauma" than did most of the groups. While they did become less intolerant of others, and of difference, variety, and nonconformity, they remained very dependent on parentally-learned values.[5] Generally speaking, they defensively maintained their particular social/societal "adjustment" throughout college.

The students in O-type 12 were also not very strongly affected by their interpersonal relationships. Despite their average levels of social extroversion and involvement in social and school activities, they were among the lowest groups to report that friends and close relationships were an especially important influence on them during college and many had not really begun heterosocial relationships. They were not very self-expressive in general (and were particularly limited when it came to direct expression of anger),[6] and they tended to converse mostly about superficial matters. The quality of their relationships was poor, and (similar only to the students in O-type 3) they reported being much more likely than the other groups to take personal problems to adult figures rather than to talk about them with peers.

---

4 Such as marijuana and other drugs, sex, nature, and Eastern religion and philosophy.

5 As seniors they were also somewhat less likely than average (again, even though males) to be living "on their own," in places free of parental or institutional constraints.

6 A rather strong degree of passive-aggressive "laziness" was also not unusual among these students. Athletics for many were not only important interests but also served as subliminatory outlets for limited growth and unexpressed emotions such as tension, hostility, and sexuality. While only a modest proportion of O-type 12 students were actually intercollegiate athletes, almost all intensively followed collegiate and professional sports and participated informally in athletics.

Those that could more adequately handle social relationships beyond semi-formal dating were more likely than most to seek an early marriage (and the group as a whole reported an average degree of special influence by love relationships and marriage). But most of them had chauvinistic and traditional role concepts for women, sives, and themselves that were quite rigid and limited. For most, one of the most important roles of the wife was to support and reassure her husband. Most of the students in O-type 12 also needed the security of a "dominant" position in the household to buttress themselves against feelings of inadequacy (or challenge), and some only "guessed" their wife could work. The feelings of inferiority, however, were often concealed by gruffness, imperturbability, "bragging," or duty-bound role concepts.

Politically, as seniors they were the most conservative of the O-types. Although they reported being influenced by political affairs and the development of greater sociopolitical awareness (both at average levels), they did not seem to have an adequate context for political understanding or evaluation. They continued to express little interest in national and international affairs, some occasionally voiced an identification with the "silent majority," and they remained the group most likely to oppose racial and ethnic organizations. They were somewhat more liberal as seniors than as freshmen, but they were among the groups least likely to report becoming more radical or active, or more liberal, and they remained more attached to, and put more faith in, the American system. While many at times indicated that there was some legitimate grievance or cause behind ethnic and student protests, or that protest was "American," almost all of them opposed any disruption of their lives, and they were very unlikely to have openly protested about anything themselves.

While some seemed somewhat racially prejudiced and the group as a whole was not very benevolently concerned about others, some of these

students nevertheless had some appreciation of the plight of some of society's underdogs. Among the students many of them felt rather "outcast" in some respects. Factors (in various combinations) which seemed to engender their feelings of exclusion included an underdeveloped intellectual acumen, a narrow range of experience, a limited range of potential sharing, and their lack of openness to others (often with an overdeveloped sense of "propriety" among those less aggressive). Low status backgrounds, parental expectations for conventional achievement or success, and the impact of being of Asian background in a white society also made many of them feel less secure. Their drive to attain money and status in part seemed to be an attempt to compensate for "inferiority."

Academically, they continued to emphasize the importance of acquiring vocational training and they were much more likely than average to prefer nonexperimental and impersonal colleges or universities. Although they gave faculty an average amount of credit for interest in students and expressed an average degree of satisfaction with their overall college experience, they were among the groups least involved with or influenced by faculty, and least conversant in the classroom. While they worked at their studies an average amount and an average proportion were planning to go to graduate school in the next year, some had academic difficulty and they got the second lowest grades of any O-type.

The nonacademic intellectual life of the students in O-type 12 paralleled the academic. They retained most of their strong resistance to abstract ideas and continued to make evaluations based primarily on material values, practicality, and immediate utility. Their very "logically"-oriented thought processes remained dependent on ingrained emotional associations and simplistic premises and among the groups as seniors they least saw themselves as complex or deep. With the students in O-type 3, the students in O-type 12 least indicated that they

had important intellectual interests of their own (such as reading or art). In general they expressed very little interest in or appreciation of esthetics, and saw little value in such matters or perceptions. They also had the lowest degree of especially important influence by contemporary and other literature (including nonfiction).

When it came to looking at their own lives, the students in O-type 12 were also closed and defensive. They almost seemed to eliminate personal intake that was in any way threatening. Their "logical" orientation was used more to defend their personal status quo than to comprehend or seek new understanding. They put less importance on self-examination, self-awareness, and self-development than almost all of the other groups, and they had little sense of their inner selves. As a group they least reported that greater self-knowledge was an important development of their college years. As seniors they were continuing in "foreclosed" paths, and for the future they saw financial concerns as more important than development of identity.

On the whole, the history of the students in O-type 12 during college reflected some general maturation and some learning of vocational specialties. But the legacy of buried fears, which "demanded" closure to protect parentally-established "identities," usually continued to hold them in static or limited patterns. As a consequence, their development suffered considerably, not only in areas potentially new, but also in the areas of their primary interests.

O-TYPE 13: THE TRADITION-BOUND VOCATIONALISTS

The students classified into O-type 13 (N = 41) were mostly females (34). More than most groups they tended to come from integral families living in a variety of locations, but seldom in suburbs or cities with over a million residents. At the time of entrance to college, they were somewhat more closed to learning from abstract ideas and somewhat more materialistic than the other entrants. They were more dependent on their parents, religion, and society for their perspectives on and in life, and they were more affiliated with conservative or fundamentalist religions than was the average student.

Although they were less interested in national and international affairs (and perhaps a little more politically conservative) than most of the students, their conservatism was primarily in the personal-social sphere. More than most of the entrants they opposed the freedoms for students to have premarital sex and to use alcohol or marijuana. While "well-adjusted" (at average levels), they were somewhat inhibited in general and not very self-expressive. They adhered to very socially "acceptable" values and saw themselves as possessing socially acceptable qualities more than did most of the groups.

Although found at all but the very liberal and intellectually rigorous institutions among those sampled, compared to most of the groups the students in O-type 13 usually attended colleges or universities with a relatively conservative and nonexperimental atmosphere, and presumably in accord with traditional expectations for females, neither they nor their parents had high educational aspirations.

The values and mores of parents, of traditional subcultures, and of religion, seemed to have a stronger hold on the students in O-type 13 than on most of the others. They seemed to fear personal exploration,

and this was a major factor in restricting their change and development. During college these students put considerable emphasis into acquiring a vocation, rather than, for example, emphasizing a general learning or growth that might have kept them more abreast of the other students. While some general maturation occurred, these students, already laggard at entrance, seemed to slip further behind their peers in many respects.

As seniors the students in O-type 13 were the group least venturesome and most personally conservative. They least endorsed premarital sex or living together before marriage.[1] They also least accepted the use of marijuana or alcohol. Although perhaps half of them attended colleges where "counterculture" influences[2] were strong or (nondominantly) prevalent, almost none of them reported such influences to have been especially important for them, and they had the least contact or identification with "hip" values or subcultures. As seniors they least preferred an experimental college, and they remained more affiliated with and dependent upon the doctrines of conservative religions than did the other students. While their own intellectual interests were reported to be of average importance, they reported a low degree of special influence by contemporary and other literature (including nonfiction). And more often than the students in the other groups, as seniors they still lived in nonindependent living circumstances (in dorms, with parents or relatives, and in sororities/fraternities--71%).

Although they reported becoming more liberal, the students in O-type 13 did not move as rapidly as most of the other students toward

---

[1] Their responses indicated feelings closer to acceptance of premarital sex in the lives of others and of living together before marriage than to outright disapproval, but regarding the latter the split was almost 50-50. Very few accepted premarital sex for themselves.

[2] "Counterculture" influences include not only marijuana, LSD, and sex, but also Eastern religions and philosophy, nature, etc.

greater liberalization. As seniors they were among the four most politically conservative groups.[3] Compared to the other groups, they less favored (or were more opposed to) student and social justice protest and its goals. Although they reported important influence at nearly average levels by political occurrences, they usually lacked an adequate context for evaluation of current events, and in general had a simplistic perspective on much of life. Compared to the other students they remained considerably less interested in national and interrational affairs, did little reflecting on such matters, and they reported less radicalization or loss of faith in America.

Even those more supportive of liberal or radical values, personal or political, tended to be fearful of taking action or of making open statements in support of their beliefs. Conservative or more liberal, they expressed a wide variety of inhibiting fears. They were often wary of society's disapproval or sanctions (including where future careers seemed potentially affected.) Actions or beliefs which seemed to violate religious mores were avoided rather than evaluated. Although they were somewhat closer to their parents than most of the groups and saw less of a "generation gap," they also feared parental sanction and were no more likely than average to take personal problems to "adult" figures. During college they did very little exploring beyond known parameters and they experienced fewer "trauma" than almost all of the other groups. On the whole, their fears led these students to cater or cling to values externally imposed by their pasts, limited their flowering in the present, and encouraged them to remain future-oriented.

---

[3]Perhaps their greatest area of liberality was with regard to racial interest groups, where they were a little more conservative (only somewhat acceptant) than average.

Although they reported an almost average emphasis on self-awareness and self-discovery, and at nearly average that greater self-knowledge was an especially important development of their college years, their limited perspectives and a lack of openness to their inner feelings left self-understanding among them rather inadequate. They stayed at average in psychosocial "adjustment," and remained more conformist, utilitarian, and materialistic than did most of the groups. Despite developmental lags, as graduating seniors they thought finances relatively more important than, for example, concerns about identity. However, the financial independence possible after college seemed to offer prospects for greater personal independence, and this course of caution was the one that the fearful beginning of self-awareness urged upon some. While some did seek life styles or personalities somewhat different from those urged by their parents, they often did so silently and in a context otherwise so similar that many of their attempts seemed relatively futile.

Socially they were active at average levels in structured activities and semi-formal dating, in student activities and clubs, and in sports, and they had an average number of "close" friends. But they remained relatively immature and non-self-expressive, and their relationships were usually characterized by a lack of deep interpersonal exchange and a concentration on superficial or practical conversation and interests. Even so, this represented real progress for many of them and they were more than average socially satisfied with their college experience.

Despite their lack of experimentation with the independent life of an adult and relationships that tended to lack substance, and even though the reality of a pending marriage was often distant, somewhat more than most of the students they tended to see marriage as coming at a specific rather than a more indefinite time in the future. While establishing a vocational competence often seemed an over-riding concern, marriage was another avenue into some aspects of life that they had hitherto

not experienced; it was also the expected thing to do as well as another potential escape from family constraints for some. If their college-years relationships were typical, however, marriage for most of them will involve a partial transfer of allegiance and obligation, traditional roles, and another exterior determinant to their identity.

While they were quite concerned about upward mobility and acquisition of skills, and while they were more likely than most to have a specific occupation in mind at their time of graduation, many seemed likely to forgo work after marriage. They spent a lot of time studying and got better grades than most of the groups, but they were no more likely than average to be pursuing a graduate education in the next year. During college they became less interested in pursuing general learning and development, and they remained more closed than most of the students to abstract ideas.

While somewhat more than average influenced by faculty, the students in O-type 13 were only at average involved with faculty. They put relatively less effort (below average) into academic and campus reform than into other contacts with faculty or (especially) into vocational development, and more than most of the students, they believed that faculty were truly interested in students. Over one-half (twice as many as expected) planned to work in others-oriented semi-professional jobs such as teaching (about one-quarter of them took majors in education), and an above average proportion were pursuing technical or business careers. On the whole, they felt that college had been a time when they became more self-confident and outgoing and better able to handle the everyday affairs of life, and they were more satisfied than most with the experience.

When the students in O-type 13 came to college they were very rooted in the past, particularly personally, and these particular roots

strongly tended to constrict expectation, vision, and growth. For many, an emphasis on the development of a specific vocation--an acceptable outlet in almost all circles (at least until marriage)--served as a support for self-esteem within the context of their family's values. For others a vocation offered the potential of greater independence. For most it was also a way to avoid having to cope with the more complex lives of peers (for which they were not prepared), or to suspend re-evaluation while remaining dependent on their parents and values from the past.

One way or another, the results were a personal conservatism, withheld selves, a fear of exploration, an over-developed sense of propriety, and a very limited development. Unfortunately, their lack of independence, together with a vocation-centered, post-college environment often less conducive to personal exploration, experimentation, and general learning, also seemed likely to limit subsequent development to the minimum essentials. Most of these students seemed likely to face a dutiful life or a long, largely unforeseen struggle to free themselves from domination by the authoritarian strictures which throughout college limited their self-expression, personal and intellectual searching, and free identity formation. However, most acquired skills or vocations with which to provide themselves a financial independence should they want or need it.

CHAPTER III

THE STUDENTS AT FOUR DIFFERENT INSTITUTIONS

This section is a brief survey of the "average" characteristics of the student populations at four of the institutions studied, and is presented to illustrate some of the important differences among the social and institutional cultures on several campuses. The considerations here will again be limited to the college careers of the "regular" persisters (the seniors in 1970 who had been previously tested in 1966). Within each college's population, the most salient, school-wide averages will noted and the proportions and principal characteristics of the O-types which were most represented at the institution will be briefly examined.[1]

The summaries below are drawn primarily from the senior factors (see Appendices B and C) rather than from yet more extensive data. Since there were occasional divisions within each college's population (which would tend to be obscured in any short nontypological examination of student characteristics), the reader interested in greater comprehensiveness is referred to the O-typological summary accompanying the description of each school and to the more extensive descriptions of the O-types (in conjunction with Table 4). However, when there was a clear split between a large majority of the students and the remainder, this too has been noted.

---

[1] While some of this information can be obtained by consulting the table accompanying this section and by reading the more extensive descriptions of each of the O-types, the descriptions following below provide a convenient summary.

The relevances of this section are several. The senior persisters at an institution provide a fairly good picture of the particular "paths" along which student development proceeds and of the styles toward which undergraduate life tends. This is the type of information that faculty, student services personnel, and administrators--at these and at similar institutions--can use to improve or change their curriculum and student services, and to attempt facilitation of academic and institutional environments more conducive to student (human) development. In this connection, the reader is also referred to the Conclusion, where developmentally facilitative avenues for institutional change are discussed.

Table 4. The Frequency Distributions of Students by O-type Classifications in Seven Schools

	O-types[2]															
School[1]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14[3]	15[4]	Total
A	-	10	$-_1$	-	-	-	2	1_1	2	3	3	-	2_1	3	0	26
B	3_1	2	1	1	5	2_1	$-_1$	7_1	2	1	1	$-_1$	-	5	4	34
C	3	1	-	4_1	3	1	3	2_2	9_2	5_1	4	8_1	6	7	2	58
D	7	11_1	-	9_1	7	10_2	2	6	5	2	$-_1$	1	-	5	4	69
E	24_3	24_1	17_4	21_2	36_1	8_1	27	6_1	16	10_1	6_2	23_1	17_1	18	65	318
F	5	4	5	6_1	-	9	10_1	14	12	2	3_1	4	4_1	4	20	102
G	1	3	4_2	3	2	1	3_1	19_1	5	14	16_1	5_1	12	6	9	103
Totals	43_4	55_2	27_7	44_5	53_1	31_4	47_3	55_6	51_2	37_2	33_5	41_4	41_3	48	104	710

[1]The schools are:
A) Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia
B) Raymond College, UoP, Stockton, California
C) College of the Pacific, UoP, Stockton, California
D) University of California, Santa Cruz, California
E) University of California, Berkeley, California
F) Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota
G) Luther College, Decorah, Iowa

[2]The O-types are titled:
1. The Societally Alienated
2. The More Generally Alienated
3. The Socially Alienated Materialists
4. The Emerging Women
5. The Religiously Liberal Subject-Oriented Achievers
6. The Intellectuals
7. The Average Students Who Changed
8. The Emotionally Dissonant Intellectuals
9. The Vocational-Professional Achievers
10. The Inexperienced Socials
11. The Confirmed Collegiates
12. The Closed and Unchanging Males
13. The Tradition-Bound Vocationalists

[3]Column 14 represents the number of students who although most closely associated with one O-type were "rejected" from the O-typology. The numbers subscript to each frequency represent such "rejects." The rejects as a whole tend to have wide-ranging scores, suggesting more highly idiosyncratic patterns, unusual response styles, etc.

[4]Column 15 represents the total number of students who had missing data on at least one of the 11 defining dimensions of the O-typology.

College of the Pacific
(at the University of the Pacific)

The students at the College of the Pacific were distributed across the O-typology, exhibiting considerable diversity. However, the bulk of the men (2/3) fell into two O-types, and the remainder were rather evenly distributed across three other groups. No such concentrations were evident among the women, but they tended to fall into five O-types with some important shared characteristics, so that there was also a high degree of agreement among them in their responses to some of the questionnaire items. Compared to the total sample average, data reported below represents the most salient characteristics of the COP students.

At levels above average for the sample as a whole, 85 percent of the women and two-thirds of the COP men stressed their involvement with or interest in social activity and affiliation, socially-oriented friends, and parties and dances. Of all the schools studied, the emphasis on college athletics was strongest at COP; 71 percent of the males and 42 percent of the females indicated an above average interest.[1] Among the males, 53 percent indicated a very high degree of interest and/or involvement, 18 percent showed a lower (but still above average) level of interest, and another 19 percent indicated a level of interest in sports that was only just below average.

While the degree of commitment to good grades and studiousness was somewhat evenly split among both sexes, 82 percent of the COP men and almost three-quarters of the women were above average in their reported

---

[1] Because males and females were not considered separately in the scoring of the factors and conglomerates, a 42% rating of "above average" interest in sports was the highest among the females at the 7 schools.

emphasis on learning practical skills for upward mobility, and were more likely than most to have already settled on an occupation. However, while two-thirds of the men expressed a strong interest in or commitment to graduate or professional school, over three-quarters of the women did not. (Among the seven institutions in the sample, the responses by sex on this factor were most polarized at COP.) But compared to the average student in the sample, both sexes (68%, 76%) saw the department in which they majored as more personal, cooperative, and social, and the women especially (80%) felt that they received above-average reinforcement and stimulation from their most contributive faculty member. All in all, an above-average satisfaction with their college experience--socially, in general, and with the faculty's interest and concern in students--was indicated by two-thirds of the persisting men and seven-eighths (88%) of the women.

Most of the COP students became more academically intellectual and responsible during college (72% of the men and 67% of the women became more average on this "change" dimension), but half of these senior students (the highest proportion at the 7 schools) preferred a traditional to an experimental college. In addition, only 29 percent of the males indicated (at above-average levels) that their most contributive faculty member had encouraged them to inspect their values or made them aware of social issues. And although the remainder were somewhat split, as seniors 64 percent of the women were above average in anti-intellectual authoritarianism.

In view of the stances illustrated above, it is not surprising that over two-thirds of both sexes expressed a below-average interest or involvement in campus-related activism or reform. Although there was a consequential minority of somewhat more liberal and more modern students (especially among the males), the campus as a whole was conservative and opposed to political protest and its goals (62%, 72%), and although there was a small more active and interested minority, 73 percent

of the females indicated a below-average interest and involvement with national and international issues.

Although premarital sex was approved of by about two-thirds of the students (at least in intellectual acknowledgment), there was a more general split among both sexes with regard to the endorsement of the broader-ranging freedoms of the new morality (premarital sex and living together before marriage, plus acceptance of marijuana, alcohol, birth control, and abortion). But the interpersonal climate at COP was more traditional in many respects than these "average" intellectual acceptances suggest. Both sexes, but especially the females (63%, 72%) expressed an above-average adherence to various traditional ideals and practices (cleanliness, practicality, stability, safety). Both sexes expressed little identification with "hip" life styles or values (62%, 73%). Among the sample's males, those from COP were most likely to have become more defensively closed in a stereotypically "masculine" way (60%), although another fifth, in something of a split, became much less closed.[2] On the whole, the dominant student culture tended to encourage pridefully insecure and chauvinistic males, and role-bound women (who were pressured into, or clung to, societally-conditioned goals, life styles, and "limitations"), such that the school-wide climate was relatively inimical to more open interpersonal exploration and personal growth. Academic and social mores encouraged the students to be a socially "acceptable" "something" or "someone," but not to be themselves.

---

[2]At the more environmentally liberal schools, proportions of males nearer 70% became less defensively "masculine." To become more defensively "masculine" is to close down more of the esthetic and emotional-feeling sides of life, to see the world in simpler terms and to live in more "practical" ways, to strengthen personal defenses, focus on fewer aspects of life, and deny anxiety, and to be somewhat less concerned about and involved with people.

While the COP students, as entrants, were rarely intellectually or personally advanced in terms of development, and while institutional personnel needed to start at low levels to best encourage human growth, for most of the students the institution largely failed to facilitate basic change and development. Among most of its students, COP did not adequately facilitate meaningful interpersonal exchange, nor help establish greater awareness of self, nor stimulate an awareness of values or an intellectual breadth and depth beyond that needed for specialized vocations and adequate grades. The faculty, while perhaps geared to providing a rather traditional preparation in some vocations and professions, seemed to have an otherwise modest impact.[3] For example, from the freshman students interviewed in the spring of 1967, only one professor was noted by more than one student (and he by several) as challenging, as being particularly stimulating to the students' thinking and values.

For the student at COP who was advanced beyond certain base levels, it was difficult to find environmental support, intellectual or social. These persisters (who remained at COP for the full four years) were probably largely satisfied with the experience because they were caught up in their traditional social life or narrow vocationalism (with peer and future status rewards), had low expectations regarding intellectuality and growth, or sought to minimize academic effort. The institution may have had much to offer in terms of social status (in some circles), clearly served a socializing function for the upwardly mobile, and provided vocational training. But it was no more than an average institution in terms of a true liberal arts education, the stimulation of thought and the examination of underlying values in disciplines or life,

---

[3]However much the institution needed to preserve its status quo and current offerings, there seemed to be a need for young, experimental, challenging, and assumption-questioning faculty members.

the decrease of authoritarianism, and the search for the potentials of the self and of the future.[4]

The Males at COP

About one-third of the COP male persisters were quite satisfied, conventional "successes" who put little energy into questioning their life roles or values, and had little insight. They strove for vocational goals or professional status through academic channels, were generally competent in traditional social skills, and they changed a nearly average amount in many respects. In some ways they best represent "success" at COP [O-type 9].

The second large group reflected very little progress. One-third of the COP men were very conservative (personally and politically), non- or anti-intellectual, and highly sports-minded, with a more training-centered vocational orientation. They remained on largely predetermined paths, changed very little during college, and were defensive and closed to learning from friends, ideas, or academia. They had very little self-understanding, a very incomplete knowledge about the world around them, and although at average involved in student "activities," were unusually superficial and underdeveloped in their interpersonal relationships [O-type 12].

Most of the remainder of the males (and some of the females) fell into three other O-types, the last two of which were probably most deviant

---

[4]Neither its location in Stockton nor its reputation for social life and intercollegiate athletics was conducive to COP's modernization. Its efforts to develop special cluster colleges, however, are worthy of note. (For an example of one such cluster college, see Raymond, below.) But the mother institution had not been greatly affected by its efforts at innovation.

from campus norms. The first was a group of religiously "liberal," subject-oriented achievers who were very competent in their academic subjects, but interpersonally underdeveloped [O-type 5]. The second was a group of otherwise average students who tried to develop more realistic relationships and wanted a broader understanding than academia usually offers; in the process they became more radicalized [O-type 7]. From fairly early in their college careers, the third group of students were more personally alienated from society, academia, and conventional social mores. Their less adequate "adjustment" was reflected in their search for real relationships, different life styles, and more relevant and personalized (and generally nonacademic) learning experiences [O-type 1].

The Females at COP

Although the women were less concentrated in any specific O-type, their distribution across the typology brought out the common themes already noted. About one-fifth of the females were tradition-bound, religious, and conservative; they were studious vocational achievers who were quite satisfied with their college experience as a whole [O-type 13]. About one-seventh were students equally conservative, at least as satisfied with college, and almost as religious [O-type 11]. But these students were social "successes," in traditional "collegiate" roles, and gained very little else during college. They became even more defensive (and/or "well-adjusted"), knew themselves primarily in terms of their feminine and social roles, and had extensive but generally superficial interpersonal relationships. One-sixth of the women were classified into a group that also put a lot of emphasis on "social" development--to make up for pre-college developmental inhibition [O-type 10]. While searching for conventional social competence they became nearly as independent as the sample average in their perspectives on life and the world around them, but they remained laggard in the quality of their interpersonal relationships,

in intellectual development, and in the experiential foundations for their apparent growth in autonomy. Another one-tenth of the women fell into a more academically-oriented, intellectual, and changing group of students [O-type 8]. But they had a lot of difficulty developing the emotional and personal components of the less conventional styles of life and relationships that were becoming more congruent with their changing intellectual perceptions of life and the world around them.

Finally, the only sizable group that didn't generally fit the campus stereotypes for women, consisting of one-sixth of the women, underwent more extensive holistic change. They became much less defensive and/or "well-adjusted" (decreasing to more average levels). In the process they progressed toward greater self-understanding, identities that were less role bound, more self-expression, and greater realism in their interpersonal relationships. They tended to become self-motivated learners (and to be somewhat alienated from academia) and to move toward a more radical perspective on American society [O-type 4].

Stevenson College
(the University of California at Santa Cruz)

The great majority (90%) of the Stevenson seniors were classified into only sever O-types, and this fairly high concentration implied that the campus had a distinctive flavor. But since both the males and females at UCSC were dispersed across five or six O-types, there was also some diversity and some division of opinion.

Among the institutions sampled, UCSC's Stevenson College was in many respects the institution where modern nonestablishmentarian values, political and personal, were most prevalent. Compared to the average student for the sample as a whole, 88 percent of the men and 85 percent of the women were above average in their support of the goals and methods of most of the protest of the time. They also more strongly supported the efforts of ethnic organizations (Blacks, Chicanos, Asians), with 89 percent of the males and 79 percent of the females indicating above-average support. However, liberal to radical sentiment did not prevail unanimously. While two-thirds of the males and a majority of the females were neutral or sympathetic towards Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and socialist student groups, a minority were more distinctly opposed.

At the interpersonal level, the social climate was informal and the UCSC students (74% males, 86% females) were above average in their endorsement of the freedoms of the new morality.[1] And compared to the students on the other campuses, they estimated a higher use of "drugs" among UCSC students (marijuana, especially, but also LSD and amphetamines).

---

[1]These freedoms include the acceptance of premarital sex and of living together before marriage, of college student use of marijuana and of alcohol, and of birth control pills and abortion.

But many of the male students retained values from the past that were partly at variance with these trends. Almost 45 percent of the men maintained fairly strong religious beliefs or commitments (albeit sometimes nonconventional), while an equal proportion were agnostics or atheists who did not see themselves as "religious" or have conventional religious commitments. Similarly, there was some polarization among the men about the "hip" label and values; 38 percent distinctly avoided identification with what they saw as "hip."

Although the students' attachment to academic dispositions remained stronger than at most schools, over the four years many commitments to "responsible" use of intellectual capabilities grew weaker. In many respects the students were committed to a broader intellectual approach than academia usually offers or easily tolerates, and a sizable minority were probably more intellectual independent and open than many of their professors. For example, 69 percent of the men and almost 100 percent of the women scored below the sample average on a measure of anti-intellectual authoritarianism. The Stevenson students' openness to and enjoyment of the world of ideas was further suggested by the fact that 68 percent of the males and 77 percent of the females expressed a stronger than average commitment to their own intellectual interests, particularly reading. And the students saw themselves as more complex and deep than the average, and preferred it so (75% males, 63% females). In addition, 89 percent of the women had a less than average interest in collegiate and spectator sports and athletics.

But despite their intellectuality, there was considerable divergence of opinion (in contrast to a more statistically "normal" distribution) connected with the students' reactions and approaches to the institution itself. For example, regarding the department in which they majored, both sexes were split about how personal, co-operative, and social it was; and both were split about whether or not their most contributive

faculty member had stimulated work and thought, and had reinforced their efforts. In addition, the males were split as to their degree of emphasis on study and grades, and on their commitment to acquisition of vocational skills for upward mobility. And the females were split about how satisfied they were with college, in general and socially, and on whether the faculty were truly interested in and concerned about students.[2]

In looking ahead to life after college, both sexes placed more importance on concerns about identity than on financial matters (78% males, 69% females). This orientation reflected a mixture of openness to further growth for its own sake, and among the men it also reflected a more generalized increase in openness to life and other people. About two-thirds became less defensively closed and stereotypically "masculine" during college.[3] But among some of the males, lack of commitments and the need to cope with developmental lags also served as reasons for a focus on identity. Among the males there was a split with respect to changing adjustments to societal psychosocial norms; only a minority (29%) became distinctly more "well-adjusted," while most men (55%) did not.[4]

---

[2]Nevertheless, the college did have relatively high proportions of potential graduate students and, relative to the imbalance across the sample, the difference in proportion was low between women and men graduate school candidates.

[3]To become more defensively "masculine" is to close down more of the esthetic and emotional-feeling sides of life, to see the world in simpler terms and to live in more "practical" ways, to strengthen personal defenses, focus on fewer aspects of life, and deny anxiety, and to be somewhat less concerned about and involved with people. However, among the Stevenson males, there was a slight split on this dimension, and probably a quarter of the males "worsened" (few severely).

[4]Well over half of the small proportion of men who became distinctly more "well-adjusted" were not very "well-adjusted" at entrance, and the change was likely to have been developmentally positive. The proportion of clearly positive evaluations for those men who became distinctly less "well-adjusted," however, is probably lower here than at most institutions, since there was a high proportion of males in O-type 2.

But despite some lack of definite paths, about two-thirds of both sexes reported changes in their relationships with their parents, particularly in the direction of greater independence.

UCSC's idyllic and detached setting has its decided blessings, but without the employment of other resources as well, it seemed generally insufficient to fully promote human growth for the majority of these students. While it is an excellent setting for an extended moratorium devoted to meditation, becoming at one with nature, study, and personal-interpersonal development, strains were generated by UCSC's lack of ties with the "real world" (especially in conjunction with the political pressures of the time to act). There were few readily available models of, or outlets for, constructive alternative action in society (and this class had to initiate many of the community relations which it was to develop). There was little immediately available urban culture, and most cultural offerings, from art to intellectual thought, had to be imported. Strain was also generated by the limited attraction of formal classroom learning situations (even though somewhat innovative) and by a student body somewhat split in their overall development--some too limited in breadth and experience to gain by the opportunities, others needing more real responsibility, participation, and alternatives. To the extent that the faculty and administration denied full participatory involvement to the students--from determination of course content to decisions about dormitory rules--the students were deprived of some possibilities for learning and the exercise of responsible commitment (the very thing also denied by UCSC's lack of ties with the nonacademic world).

As a result of the dynamics of these forces (and some unique factors because this was the first year of Stevenson's operation), only some of the college's considerable potential was realized in this graduating class. Many of the students who were developmentally less advanced

at entrance, especially among the males,[5] had an "unnecessarily" difficult time. They had little structure, few avenues of real participation (in power and/or with peers), and they were often forced to choose among themselves for peer contact as advanced students quickly left dormitories for less regulated residences. While some observers felt there was a "drug problem," the isolation of the school (especially during these years of extensive student protest) was a more real problem, and a special source of frustration to many students, and "dropping out," in spirit if not in fact, was somewhat common. Similarly, since a consequential proportion of students (mostly males) were developmentally "stranded" (especially in their heterosocial development) and without readily accessible avenues to relevant growth, the difficulties of some of them were erroneously attributed to their use of drugs, especially among the few who may actually have had an especially "bad trip."

The Males at UCSC

Approximately one-third of Stevenson's male students were most associated with O-type 2. The students in O-type 2 were usually dissatisfied, alienated, or unhappy in several respects. Typically they had long-standing conflicts, problems, or "failures" in personal-interpersonal development, with academia, and in adjustment to subculture or community and society. They were less able than most to grow out of their past behavioral repertoires and commitments to convention, and they were often not very able to cope with more commonly-used channels either.

---

[5]Women students who choose to come (or whose parents allow or encourage them to come) to more advanced institutions are on the average more developed or more ready to develop than are their male counterparts. (In addition, with respect to beginning interpersonal relationships in traditional roles, the problem of assertion--"male"--is more difficult than the problem of receptivity--"female."

The second largest group of males presented a considerable contrast. Perhaps as many as one-fifth of the men at Stevenson were classified as very intellectually-oriented and academically successful students. While somewhat oriented to radical change and reform, they were not very comfortable outside of academic circles, and despite their wide-ranging intellectuality, their fears and defenses often somewhat constricted their interpersonal exploration and other growth [O-type 6]. (Equally liberal-radical and nearly as intellectual, but in ways more societally and academically alienated, and personally and interpersonally experimental, were the 10 percent of Stevenson males assigned to O-type 1.)

More average and conventional students were represented by three O-types. One-sixth of the males were oriented to vocational or professional achievement. They were "successful" students (in conventional academic and social milieus) who did little questioning of self and society, and had little insight, but they made nearly average gains in many other respects [O-type 9]. The male population also included a few religiously "liberal," subject-oriented achievers, with their interpersonal underdevelopment [O-type 5], and a few men who with the help of college-related learning experiences became much more intellectively independent but had difficulty mastering the emotional side of their changed perspectives [O-type 8].

The Females at UCSC

On the whole, the women at UCSC seemed to have developed more of their potentials than did the men. One-quarter, the largest proportion of Stevenson women grouped into any one O-type, underwent substantial holistic change, were more likely to be "liberated" women, and were probably the major unsung success stories at UCSC. They became much less defensive (and/or "well-adjusted"), progressing instead toward greater

realism in interpersonal relationships, identities that were less role-bound, greater self-understanding, and more self-expression. They also moved toward a more radical perspective on the problems and issues of this society. They tended to become self-motivated learners but had neither dispositions nor interests very suited to academia's current structures [O-type 4]. In addition, a few women were also associated with another high-change group composed of students with more of an orientation toward coping with society and perhaps a more constricted personal adjustment [O-type 7].

Two other groups also represented very modern trends. About one-seventh of the Stevenson women were classified as liberal-radical but academically-oriented intellectuals with wide-ranging interests extending beyond where they felt safe [O-type 6]. And about one-eighth were equally liberal-radical, but societally and academically alienated and less "well-adjusted" students who put more emphasis on experiment and interpersonal relationships [O-type 1].

The remaining four groups reflected a mixture of unbalanced change, studious perseverance, and personal difficulty. One-eighth of the women were students whose emotional maturity and personal growth didn't keep up with the (somewhat academically-stimulated) increased intellectual independence and more liberal-radical perspectives with which they came to view the world. They tended to lose sight of the selves behind their "well-adjusted" facades [O-type 8]. About one-seventh of the Stevenson College females were classified into a group of religiously liberal, subject-oriented achievers [O-type 5] who usually had some accompanying tensions and conflicts over a more neglected self and interpersonal development.

In addition, about a tenth of the women were alienated in many respects, and not very successful at making needed change [O-type 2].

Finally, a few women were so far behind at entrance that they seemed rather dissonant in this freer environment; their long struggle toward social competence and considerable growth in intellectual autonomy still left them well behind in most respects [O-type 10].

The University of California at Berkeley

The Berkeley students were distributed widely across the O-types and were highly diverse in their attitudes and perspectives. While there were a few overall regularities, it is the broad representation of Berkeley's students across the O-typology that tells the story better than do the few dimensional distributions which diverged from the larger sample average.

But Berkeley's diversity was not very apparent on two of the measures related to student perceptions of the institution. While the average student in the total sample saw the department in which he or she majored as "somewhat" or less than "somewhat" personal, co-operative, and social, by comparison, two-thirds of Berkeley's senior persisters saw their departments as below that average. In terms of getting contact with faculty through enrolling in a series of classes or getting personal help (such as career advice, employment aid, informal working relationships, or counseling), over three-quarters of the Berkeley seniors were also below the sample average.

In many other respects, however, the opinions of the four-year, "regular" persisters who responded did not seem to fully correspond to some of the public stereotypes which camouflage Berkeley's diversity. The men, for example, were somewhat evenly split as to their support of protest and its goals, and the women were only slightly more liberal-radical (57% less conservative than the sample mean). In addition, two-thirds of the men were less favorably inclined than average (i.e., Berkeley's students tended to be sympathetic rather than yet more active) toward student determination of rules and course content, and toward the protest to effect such ends.[1] And 63 percent of the men were more con-

---

[1] Coping with Berkeley's size and bureaucracy was a formidable task for the average student, and the many students not living in dormitories limited commitment to protest against dorm rules. In addition, the extensive controversy over the establishment of ethnic studies that these students lived through probably generated both awareness and some fear and irritation.

servative than average in taking a neutral or opposed stance toward SDS and student socialist groups.[2]

While there were strong trends toward the modern, compared to the sample average, Berkeley life styles also fell short of unanimity. Sixty percent of the males and 80 percent of the females estimated that there was above average "drug" use by the Berkeley students (marijuana especially, but also LSD and amphetamines), and the freedoms of the new morality[3] were endorsed somewhat more strongly than average (59% males, 67% females). But two-thirds of the women (with the remainder somewhat polarized) did not identify with what they understood as "hip" or hip behavior. And although 71 percent of the men and 63 percent of the women were less religious than the "average" among the total school sample, there was also a polarized and usually more formally religious minority at Berkeley.

While the women were very important contributors to the intellectual tone of the UCB milieu (72% were more intellectually independent and open to ideas than average), these women were no more likely than the women at the other schools to be considering further schooling (72% were not very likely to continue, while 59% of the men were likely to have some graduate school plans). While the intellectual and social sophistication of many of the women was not particularly reflected in plans to attend graduate school, many of the men probably were aided in their development by the sophistication of the women (and of the environment in general). Seventy percent of the men became less defensively

---

[2]At this time, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) group at UCB had advocated anti-ROTC protest and there had been some degree of turbulence.

[3]These freedoms include the acceptance of premarital sex and of living together before marriage, of college student use of marijuana and alcohol, and of abortion and the use of birth control pills.

"masculine," and the remainder were not strongly polarized.[4] And although there was a split in the population, both sexes reflected some openness, whether personal or intellectual, in looking to the future. Sixty percent of the men and two-thirds of the women ranked concerns about identity even further above concerns about finances than did the average student in the sample.

It was a multiversity in a modern urban environment that these students attended, with some predominant themes, observable by most, but also with subcultures of almost every variety. It was a community with fantastic potential resources for growth, and the primary key to development was communication and exchange with and among many aspects and people of this "rich" environment. Unfortunately, some of the student subcultures were rather insulated from broader contact with others. And their lack of breadth showed in limited understandings of the sociopolitical context in which they (as graduates) were to apply their specialized acquired knowledge, in inadequate grasps of the essence of subject matter, and in difficulties with personal and interpersonal development.

Because of the diversity of the student body and the size of the institution, the delineation of the reasons for the failures of the University of California at Berkeley to more adequately facilitate human development is a complex maze of intricate problems, too extensive to be broached at this juncture. But many of the steps facilitative of student growth which are suggested in the Conclusion are applicable to Berkeley's situation.

---

[4]To become more defensively "masculine" is to close down more of the esthetic and emotional-feeling sides of life, to see the world in simpler terms and to live in more "practical" ways, to strengthen personal defenses, focus on fewer aspects of life, and deny anxiety, and to be somewhat less concerned about and involved with people.

The O-typology

In terms of the O-typology, the single largest group accounted for only about 15 percent of the Berkeley students. Another five O-types accounted for about 10 percent each, and three other groups encompassed another 20 percent of the population. When considering the Berkeley student body, it may be most relevant to consider which O-types were underrepresented.[5]

Students assigned to O-type 8, in view of their high proportion in the total sample, were quite rare at Berkeley (3%). O-type 8 students were mostly females oriented toward faculty and academic involvement who became more liberal-radical and showed considerably more gain than average in intellectual independence. However, they retained strong religious ties and did not keep up emotionally with their intellectual growth. Since neither the maintenance of strong religious ties nor an extensive involvement with faculty was very prevalent at Berkeley, O-type 8 students were rare. (Students highly academic yet with very firm religious backgrounds, and students from smaller cities and towns were also probably relatively rare at Berkeley.)

Another group found in low proportions, also mostly females, were the narrow, but personally reinforced (or much more defensive), conservative, religiously affiliated, social "successes"--the traditional "collegiates" [O-type 11, 3%]. Students placing high values on the stereotypic sorority-girl image were a dying phenomenon at Berkeley, at least at this time. And the developmentally inhibited students [O-type 10, again mostly females], who emphasized "social development" in order to catch up, were also somewhat underrepresented (4%). Most very conservative,

---

[5] No analysis was made to determine if students who were not "regular" four-year persisters were more likely to fall into the underrepresented O-types.

freedom-restricting, or highly-religious parents were probably not sending their daughters to Berkeley because of the threatening elements, involving Communism, sex, and drugs, in the narrowly stereotypic image of the school held by them.

Also somewhat below expectations in number (almost 4%) were the academically-oriented, liberal-radical intellectuals [O-type 6, somewhat more female than male].[6] This student role is filled primarily by graduate students on large campuses with post-baccalaureate programs, and the large classes in the liberal arts and social sciences do not foster this behavior, making it a difficult undergraduate role to play at Berkeley.

Although accounting for a more sizable proportion of the Berkeley students, the faculty-oriented vocationalist achievers [O-type 9, almost all men] were also marginally underrepresented (8%).

The Males at UCB

Among the O-types overrepresented at Berkeley, those with a larger proportion of males than females included a broad mixture of five groups. The religiously liberal but rather static, subject-oriented achievers, who were usually interpersonally underdeveloped [O-type 5, more male than female at Berkeley] were proportionately overrepresented, and totalled about 15 percent of the Berkeley population. In some respects, the role of the tense, hard-studying, passive student (i.e., one adapted to the lecture system) was most typical of Berkeley.

---

[6] Because of the slight bias in respondents versus nonrespondents, there may have been a slightly higher proportion of four-year persisters in O-types 6 and 1 than is herein indicated.

The cynical and interpersonally alienated students who were focused on material gain [O-type 3, somewhat more male than female] were almost twice as prevalent at UCB than would be expected by their proportion in the total sample (but because their numbers as a whole were few, they accounted for only 8% of the student population at Berkeley). And the closed-minded, unchanging, conservative, practical, highly chauvinistic, sports-minded, and interpersonally very underdeveloped males [O-type 12] were also somewhat overrepresented, accounting for almost 10% of the population. People familiar with Berkeley's students would recognize the existence of a fair number of conservative, conventional, and underdeveloped male students whose primary college aims were vocational and/or materialistic (with or without a heavy emphasis on sports).

A little less overrepresented (but a little above 10% of the Berkeley student population) were the average students who became far more intellectually independent and liberal-radical. They remained oriented toward coping with society but did not fit into academia very well [O-type 7, principally males]. The students alienated from society and academia [O-type 1, somewhat more male than female], who tended toward radical beliefs, experimental life styles, and an emphasis on interpersonal relationships, were third-most overrepresented, and accounted for 10 percent of the Berkeley student population as a whole. Among the males, these two groups in some respects represent the vanguard of modern values--one clearly moving, growing, and coping with society, the other more sophisticated already and also more often introverted, passive, directionless, and seeking, often at the level of basic values.

The Females at UCB

About a third of the Berkeley females were distributed across the five O-types which were composed of proportionately more male students

and overrepresented at UCB (especially O-types 1, 5, and 3).[7] In addition, almost a quarter of the Berkeley females were assigned to the O-types underrepresented at UCB (especially O-types 11, 6, and 10). Finally, however, more than 40 percent of the women were classified into the remaining three O-types (with proportionately more females), which were represented among the Berkeley students at about average proportions for the sample as a whole.

Nearly 10 percent of the student body and the largest group of women, more than one-sixth, were assigned to O-type 4. These students were moving toward a personal (and societal) liberation, were or became self-motivated learners, but rarely seemed to fit in with academic values and structures. Together with the women in O-type 1, the women in O-type 4 represented a motif of real learning, growth, or seeking, with strong emphasis on the self as the locus of that growth, but touching many other aspects of life as well.

Ten percent of Berkeley's students were classified into the more generally alienated group (academia, self, and others), whose lives during college were often especially difficult [O-type 2, somewhat more female than male]. Some aspects of the University (such as its depersonalization of the student) not only made it difficult for the student with socio-emotional problems, but also contributed to these difficulties.

Finally, about seven percent of the Berkeley students were highly conservative, especially personally, and also religious, role-bound, and interpersonally underdeveloped vocationalists [O-type 13, mostly females]. These females, together with those in O-types 3 and 11, represented the strongest traditional strains of students at Berkeley--and were characterized

---

[7] Compared to the men in O-type 5, the women tended to be somewhat further along in the development of their interpersonal capacities.

by such dispositions as conservatism, vocationalism, propriety and internalized self-restriction, materialism, authoritarianism, socialite pretensions of status, etc. These populations were proportionately smaller among the women than men at Berkeley, and probably had little attraction to the other women as models.

Raymond College
(the University of the Pacific)

Although there were some concentrations of Raymond students assigned to the various O-types, when considering the student body as a whole, there was both a picture of considerable uniformity and also some prominent subgrouping--an "average" population which despite its small size was difficult to comprehend in a simplistic fashion.[1] About one-quarter of the students were classified into one O-type, but the four most-represented O-types accounted for only two-thirds of the students, and the six most prevalent included about 80 percent.

Perhaps the most outstanding characteristic of the Raymond students was their intellectual orientation. About 90 to 95 percent of both sexes were more likely than average to have been independent in their perspectives on life and the world around them, and to live in a complex world of ideas, esthetic interests, and abstract thought. They were less likely than average to be oriented toward practical, materialistic or monetary goals, and such traditional interests as collegiate and spectator sports were of very little importance to the women (90% less than average) or to the men (69% less than average; and another 21% were no more than marginally above average).

The Raymond students' intellectual orientation, however, tended to be more self-centered and parochial than usual.[2] For example, about

---

[1]Because of the low number of Raymond students, the scores of the students with a minimum of missing data were also examined and, where appropriate, they were included in the assessment of proportions for each O-type in the discussions below.

[2]Although both sexes were somewhat split, about two-thirds of the males and 70% of the females felt closer to their ideal self than did the average student in the sample. All in all, this datum obscurely conveys both the sense of self-acceptance and elitism that was prevalent (partly in contrast to students at the parent institution, COP).

85 percent of the males indicated less than an average interest in activism and political and national-international affairs or causes, and the females were only at average in such interests. Furthermore, although about two-thirds of both sexes were more liberal-radical than average and more supportive of the student protests (and their goals) of the time, virtually none of the males were extremely supportive (in contrast, 25% of the females were very supportive).

But despite such strong intellectual orientations and a fair degree of political liberalism, the females retained a surprising (but not totally conventional) degree of religious commitment or affiliation (a little above average for the sample as a whole). In contrast, the men seemed to almost totally reject religious feelings, beliefs, and affiliations, and 90 percent were less religious than average. Three-quarters of the Raymond men were also below average in their emphasis on helping others or humanitarian service, and in their interest in people-oriented majors.[3]

Although not without cliques, the interpersonal atmosphere at Raymond was informal, fairly open, and potentially stimulating.[4] Endorsement of the freedoms of the new morality[5] was fairly high among both sexes

---

[3]While conventional (and extrovertive and non-alienated women) students tended to put the most emphasis on such a "helping-humanitarian people focus," the Raymond males showed less such interest than any other group (by school, by sex) in the sample.

[4]Eighty-five percent of the men and 76 percent of the women were less likely than average to be involved in, or have friends involved in, parties, dances, and conventional "social activities."

[5]These freedoms include the acceptance of premarital sex and of living together before marriage, of college student use of marijuana and alcohol, and of abortion and the use of birth control pills.

(85% of the men and 72% of the women were above average). Although perhaps a quarter were very strongly polarized in the opposite direction, over the three years[6] about two-thirds of the men became less defensively "masculine."[7] Eighty percent of the women reported above-average changes in their relationships with their parents, especially in the direction of greater independence. Perhaps also suggesting a search for new roles or different approaches to old role stereotypes, 86 percent of the women were less likely than average to place strong emphasis on such conventional American virtues/ideals as stability, safety, practicality, and cleanliness in their beliefs (and the latter two in their living). The men, however, were strongly split on this matter. Compared to the sample average in looking to the future, both sexes stressed the importance of concerns about identity rather than considerations of finance (although there was again some split, particularly among the males).

The intellectual disposition of the women seemed more intrinsic than the men's; the men were oriented more toward academic achievement. Eighty-six percent of the women indicated a higher than average degree of interest in their own intellectual activities, particularly reading, but the men were only somewhat above average (and split). The Raymond men were as involved (but sharply and nearly equally split) in art and creative activities as males at any of the other schools, but the women were perhaps the most artistically-oriented group, with 68% above average. The males (83%), however, were more likely than the females (43%) to be oriented toward continuing their schooling. However, for the respective

---

[6]Raymond at this time was offering a three-year program leading to the bachelor's degree.

[7]To become more defensively "masculine" is to close down more of the esthetic and emotional-feeling sides of life, to see the world in simpler terms and to live in more "practical" ways, to strengthen personal defenses, focus on fewer aspects of life, and deny anxiety, and to be somewhat less concerned about and involved with people.

sexes, likely candidates for graduate school were in higher proportion here than at the other six institutions studied.

The women especially (82%), but also the men, were more likely than average as seniors to believe that they had increased their knowledge, and were better able to interpret, evaluate, abstract, and use the scientific method. Both sexes, again especially the females (72%), were also less likely than average to emphasize the practical-vocational aspects of intellectual effort or achievement. But despite the small student body and the institution's goal to promote faculty-student contact, neither sex (especially the males) rated the importance of their own involvement with faculty as greater than average.

There was considerable tension between the students and the school, and this strain interfered with communication. Despite the emphasis on intellectual re-evaluation (initially stimulated in part by faculty), the practice of and experiment with re-evaluated life styles, and the opportunities for more extensive student self-responsibility, were sharply circumscribed. The steps the authorities took to suppress marijuana (which threatened Raymond-COP's reputation) violated not only the community-based and rational procedures the school seemed to stress, but also the trust, faith, and development of responsibility among the students. Use of marijuana was driven underground (rather than just concealed from the "outside" world), and this helped to limit personal communication between students and faculty/administration.

And because of University-wide requirements which students could not easily change, as seniors more than a majority of the Raymond students (and more males than females) still lived in dorms (or with parents and relatives), with all the attendant difficulties regarding regulation and the impossibility of exercising or practicing the self-determination that comes with adult life. Those who could afford an apartment "on the side" often bought their way to greater freedom (and Raymond students were also

more likely than average to have worked to pay some of their expenses), but off-campus apartments only alleviated these strains in a circuitous way. Despite the general nonpolitical orientation of the males, three-fourths of both sexes at Raymond indicated above-average support for greater student determination of rules and course content, and for protest for such objectives.[8]

In addition to these internal problems, Raymond had the problem of facilitating growth in a very small and insular environment, without ties to the outside world. Raymond was almost a foreign body at a conservative institution with an almost wholly different flavor (see the write-up on COP), and the students at these back-to-back institutions opted for almost no contact. Furthermore, UOP is located in a community somewhat hostile to socioculturally or sociopolitically critical perspectives on life and to alternative life styles.

The almost inordinate academic pressures of an intellectually high-powered three-year program compounded the isolation, and closed the students at the institution even further in on themselves. This isolation and lack of involvement in the broader community (an activity which is not necessarily intellectually fruitless), especially when coupled with restrictions on freedoms more readily available at other institutions (if only because of greater anonymity), made a more holistic development difficult for many students. Many of the seniors in this sample lacked the breadth of personal experience necessary to provide an adequate foundation for their learning. As a result, the intellectual "learning" of many students seemed unstable if not unreal ("all in their head"), and students who most needed

---

[8]Although there was a minority of students with a stronger involvement, the futility of effecting change through appropriate "channels" was perhaps indicated by the weak interest in student government and student clubs, with about two-thirds of both sexes indicating almost no interest whatsoever.

other types of growth could not serendipitously encounter appropriate resources.

The O-types at Raymond

Because of the moderate degree of dispersion of the Raymond students across the O-typology, and because of the limited number of students in the sample, anything other than a rough consideration of the distribution by sex across the O-types is precluded.

About one-quarter of the students at Raymond (and about one-third of the females) were classified into O-type 8.[9] These students were highly involved with faculty and academic learning. They usually underwent extensive intellectual growth, especially in the independence with which they viewed life, and a trend toward a liberal-radical orientation. However, they tended to remain somewhat religious in belief and affiliation, in other ways remained enmeshed in their earlier approaches to life, and showed little insight into or recognition of their underlying and often considerable confusion, particularly in interpersonal relationships. While these students retained strong defenses, a few students of both sexes [O-type 2] had a more obviously difficult time during college, and were alienated from the institution, others, and themselves. These students remained somewhat more openly tied to parental and societal values, but often had a difficult time finding solutions to problems about which they were more aware but no less confused.

---

[9]There were more females than males in the Raymond sample, so despite the fact that Raymond's O-type 8 students were almost all females, they accounted for only a third of the women (rather than half).

In addition to the students in O-type 8, three other groups had important (but not always close) ties with academia. Among the ones with closer ties were the 15-20% of the males who took traditional paths of little personal challenge and gained some breadth but little insight in the process of learning a skill and/or becoming certified. These students were societally-adjusted vocationalist achievers who were socially active in more formal ways [O-type 9]. A larger group, including 15% (or so) of the women and 20% to 30% of the men were classified as non-religious subject-oriented achievers who usually had close ties with one subject but not with faculty. They changed little during college and had difficulty beginning or developing interpersonal relationships [O-type 5]. Another group, about 15% of the women [O-type 6] were quite liberal-radical and faculty-involved intellectuals, with a particularly wide range of interests and more personal autonomy, but often with more hesitation than necessary when exploring beyond the world of academia and the intellect.

Finally, the third largest group [O-type 1], consisting of about 10% of the women and about a quarter of the men, were more alienated students (societally and academically) who usually emphasized interpersonal relationships and in general sought new ways.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION: A DEVELOPMENTAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE PROBLEMS, NEEDS, AND POSSIBILITIES FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

The conclusion to this developmental typology focuses on the conditions that would have better facilitated greater or more extensive student (human) development. The diverse "stories" of the O-types clearly illustrate the complexity of the task, and almost as clearly imply the need for a many-faceted approach by institutions to the problem. But before proceeding to consider some of the possible avenues of institutional change, it is perhaps best to turn a very critical eye on academia itself, in order to better assess the magnitude of the problem and the reasons for the extent of the failure to date.

The Problem

Most of the interviewers for the study were especially struck by how difficult the struggles and lives of many of the students were or had been. While some students "came a long way" despite the difficulties, many were still struggling with developmental limitations they brought to college, and many others were having problems with the limitations imposed by the institutions and the society. Other students were not aware of many of their untapped potentials and capitulated almost entirely to earlier programming of their identity and lives.

While this is not the place to deal directly with the questionable social mores, values, and institutions (or the variations of them transmitted by many parents and locales) that were imposed upon these young humans, it is appropriate to examine the educational process. While higher education is not expected to be all encompassing in its address to student development (indeed, there is incomplete agreement on what "education" actually is), higher education has in many ways largely failed its students and left some crucial social-societal needs unfilled. This latter argument has been broached from different perspectives by a number of writers and critics, among whom are Goodman (1960), Jacob (1957), Sanford (1961), Freedman (1967), Trent (1967), Clark et al. (1972), and Heist (1967).

Many potentials of higher education have been neglected because institutions have usually been dominated administratively by appointees of powerful vested interests and academically by self-selecting departmental "cliques" earning their livelihood too often by service to the powers that be. Too many faculty and administrators have disregarded their commitment to openness and the pursuit of truth, and have instead seemed more protective of their power, privilege, and prestige, or have given priority to serving the status quo and the State.[1] In all fairness, however, it is recognized that the dehumanization and neglect of students and their development has not usually been due to malice or conscious hypocrisy. Insecurity, both personal and professional, frequently rooted in background and an inadequate society, with a resulting defensive and closed-minded thinking, is the usual culprit. Professors and administrators, like the rest of us, are usually enmeshed in a web of personal and societal values, unquestioned assumptions, and multiple obligations.

---

[1]The attraction of institutional personnel to the money and power of "established" authority are important determinants of a university's pursuits, whether in encouraging graduates from one field and not others, or in dictating the values and perspectives for hiring, teaching, and research.

For example, well into the years of this study (1966-70), the doctrines of in loco parentis still held sway as part of traditional mores. Many administrators proceeded on the underlying paternalistic assumption that students could not take responsibility for themselves, needed chaperoning, were not entitled to govern their own affairs nor share in decisions about mutual affairs, and had little or no role to play, other than choosing existing avenues, in deciding their fate within the established system. In loco parentis did not stop at the door of the dormitories. Some administrators were openly hostile, not only to demonstrations, but also to free speech and advocacy, while others did their best to more stealthily suppress any expression that seemed to threaten their control. In their public pronouncements at times of student demonstrations, for example, many administrators were far more likely to attack all student protest, much of which had a justifiable rationale, than to more truthfully tell the public that indeed there were some grievous problems in our society and in academia. Some administrators blindly or hypocritically proclaimed the "nonpoliticality" or "neutrality" of their institutional "pillars" of the status quo. But for many of the more-aware students, the treatment experienced in academic halls seemed designed more to quietly produce "cogs" for machines or established pigeonholes in society than to facilitate education in any broader sense of the word.

Faculty too have often failed, particularly in their roles as questioners and truth-seekers. They have not adequately examined underlying values, assumptions, or practices in their disciplines, in society, or in their ways of life and beliefs about life.[2] Nor have they encouraged study of self and society, or of the connections between knowledge as

---

[2]Although often used as a psychological defense, "objectivity" is a value-laden stance of empirical science.

compartmentalized into disciplines.[3]

There are few teachers who are a real stimulus to the thinking of undergraduate students, but the sense of intellectual excitement or heightened involvement with subject matter in the college classroom is quite rare.[4] In addition, professorial roles only rarely included that of facilitator of a more holistic development across intellectual, personal, and interpersonal spheres. And faculty too have unnecessarily restricted the students' right to participate in decision-making in areas that heavily affect student lives. As a result, far too few teachers achieve anything like large scale respect for themselves as fair "authority figures" or well-rounded human beings. Compared to faculty in most of the professions and the applied and theoretical sciences, those in the humanities, arts,

---

[3]A lack of critical self-examination (along the lines implied in the paragraph above) has made it all the more possible for social responsibility to be sacrificed in the interest of money, power, and status in academic, professional, corporate, and governmental hierarchies. This lack of responsibility to students, the public, and more especially to the future and mankind as a whole, has brought about the "production" of numerous "educated" individuals without any reasonable sense of values higher than their own power- or security-oriented self-interest. Weapons-producing scientists without concern for bettering the conditions that lead to war or guerrilla activity, secretive contracts and researchers, businessmen (and corporations) more concerned with profit than society's future, engineers without a sense of ecology or esthetics, psychologists and administrators devoted to developing and using covert methods of social manipulation, advertising men promoting artificial needs, academics prolonging the life of theories of racial inferiority, politicians who demagogically cater to peoples' fears, covert governmental surveillance and burglary, and the planning and cover-up of the Watergate incidents--these are but a few examples and practices of "educated" men with a minimal sense of social responsibility.

[4]This sometimes makes "publish or perish" policies all the more tragic, especially when coupled with the usual refusal of faculty to value writings not in keeping with professional traditionalism. Such policies and procedures have resulted in the dismissal of some of the more stimulating teachers at institutions such as Berkeley.

and some of the social sciences have made some beginnings in directions oriented toward a more holistic approach to education, but these fields as well have not lived up to their broader potential.

Because of many lost potentials, the net impact of the formal college experience has been very modest, involving growth and change for many, but inertia and even regression for many others.[5] While there is an interactive effect between the formal processes of a college and the college community as a whole, other processes appear to be more influential. Our research suggests (1) that the peer subculture is probably the most potent influence for growth, and (2) that the social and political trends and the numerous conflicts of recent years also played an important role.[6] From their involvement in the formal processes of academia, most students appear to have gained a smattering of knowledge and some skills, but only a little understanding.[7] A formal education has often involved little more than adjustment to the norms of a profession or discipline, with boundaries of learning sharply delimited according to standards acceptable to the professional and/or societal status quo.

In addition, with the exception of a few areas of study, this societally-certified form of "learning the ropes" has been available or encouraged primarily for white male children from moderate to high status families. For example, at some of the institutions studied, despite the

---

[5]For example, see Feldman and Newcomb (1970), or Clark et al. (1972).

[6]For a modest proportion of students (e.g., including especially some of those in O-type 8) faculty also contributed significantly to a liberalization of some attitudes.

[7]This differentiation between "knowledge" and "understanding" sees knowledge as power, as knowing "how to," whereas understanding is equated more with wisdom, with a deeper and more humane appreciation of the effect of the exercise of knowledge.

sociocultural pressures against intellectuality and independence among women, the women were more likely than the men to be autonomous in their perspectives on life and the world around them (but were much less likely to pursue further education). Leaving autonomy aside, the distance between academic approaches and the personal reality of racial minorities and women illustrates a major and obvious deficiency that often hindered the development of such students. But elements of societal and "institutional" sexism and racism are not the only problems involved. Intellectual independence and potential creativity, too, as reflected in either sex, while presumably highly compatible with the aims of education, were rather often incompatible with the limited and rigid nature of the academic structure.[8]

The Necessity for a More Holistic Approach to Development

The problems in academia seem even more severe if one considers the future, whether of the individual students or of the society and world. In terms of the future, meeting the needs of human development seems less like a luxury or utopia and more like a necessity. The developmental perspective suggests that the primary emphases of undergraduate education should be to encourage each student to become a holistically developed, self-motivated, life-long learner.

While this goal of education is not new, its importance has never been greater. Today our world changes faster than it ever did before; technological change impels us forward to seemingly distant and unimaginable futures an an ever-accelerating pace. In the future, automation will continue to eliminate or modify routine specialized occupations, and limitations in the earth's resources, new energy technologies, and other ecological considerations will more generally demand substantial change in our

---

[8] Studies by Heist (1967) document some of the difficulty faced by many potentially creative students in their attempts to cope with academia. (Nor does academia adequately provide for the growth needs of the student more laggard, whether intellectually or more personally; these students often drop out or remain largely unaffected by their college experience.)

lives and professions.[9] The population of the United States will have more adults and fewer young people, and differerent patterns of (if not decreases in) consumption will bring substantial social modification. Yet the graduating senior may face a work-life of 40 years, until the year 2010 for the students in this study.

Clearly we must endeavor to develop our capacity to change--in profession, life style, and values and attitudes. Education will best prepare youth for the future if it encourages a liberation of the intrinsic motivation of the self to continue growth, rather than reinforcing reliance on "incentives" such as grades, money, or vocational certification.

A breadth of development will not only better enable change, it will also help the individual to partake of more personal satisfactions and fulfillments in life, outcomes likely to benefit all of society. Understanding life, creativity, esthetics, and the enjoyment of and the ability to gain from the world of ideas are their own rewards. So is understanding and knowing ourselves, and establishing a relationship with nature or to our gods (developing a life's meaning). Perhaps equally important is our communication and exchange with others, and the satisfactions of more fully-actualized interpersonal relationships. People with a more limited development are often largely denied some of these possibilities for self-realization.

In addition, because the college years can be important for many kinds of growth less likely to occur later in life (Feldman & Newcomb, 1970),

---

[9] A study (1972) of computerized projections conducted by the Meadows et al. group at M.I.T. strongly suggests the likelihood of continued accelerating growth (in technology, production, pollution, and world population, for example), followed by a collapse (well before 2100 A.D.). Since the alternatives to collapse appeared to involve social change of other varieties, extensive social change seems inevitable in one form or another.

extensive specialization begun early in college is likely to limit other growth, reducing many potentials. The vast majority of entering freshmen have rather narrow identities that are still heavily anchored in their parents' values and perceptions. Because they do not have broader identities and goals more fully their own, they should be encouraged to suspend judgments, learn more, and evaluate life and their potentials from many perspectives. In addition, very few entering students have anything resembling extensive knowledge about the life's work they think they might like, and high school success notwithstanding, most have many undeveloped potentials and aptitudes.

If we as individuals, as societies, and as a planetary population are going to be able to "flow" with the times and maximize personal and social potentials rather than wreak various potential disasters upon ourselves, by the values, perceptions, and professions rooted in many pasts, a more holistic approach to human development is required. Holism is also necessary to find solutions to the national-international problems that sap our potential for constructive ends. For example, the narrow view of our national role and "self-interest" that brought disaster upon Southeast Asia and squandered vast resources seems morally and economically bankrupt. Our nation needs an enlightened and informed citizenry to find new alternatives, and the college years (especially) should be a time of critical examination of all values, assumptions, and practices that relate to such national-international problems.

A broadly educated citizenry is also necessary to help cope with the more immediate problems of our society, whether enabling more of the population to obtain the basic necessities of life or reducing the inordinate power of the few. As a people, we need to find life styles that foster happiness and depend more on the development of human potentials and contribution to mankind, rather than relying on life goals such as the pursuit of status or a narrow, compulsive dedication to a work ethic to help

satisfy artifically-created "needs." We need to cope with a history of racism, prejudice, and inequality of opportunity and to deal with the sexism and chauvinism that foul relationships and limit the potentials of both sexes. Since the openness and attitude changes essential to the solution of searches and problems require breadth, depth, and re-evaluation, a truly educative experience should be rich in opportunity for such growth.

How can the education community become a better environment for learning and growth? What can we, as teachers, researchers, administrators, personnel workers, and students ourselves, do?

AVENUES TO PROMOTE DEVELOPMENTAL HOLISM

While there are some general directions in which all institutions may move to better facilitate human development, the developmental composites originating in the O-typology suggest that personnel at each institution need to address themselves to the particular diversity of "their" student body, to students with different levels and combinations of development and interests. Certainly personnel at every institution should have more extensive communication with their students, and require no more than very modest student dissatisfaction to initiate a search for alternatives.[1]

---

[1]This sensitivity is even more important in these days of quiescent futilitarianism and efforts directed toward quieter, less extensive, or in-system change. (Furthermore, as some of the O-types illustrate, many students are unlikely to express their dissatisfactions, and others rather automatically pursue traditional paths, irrespective of the adequacy of those paths.)

Generally speaking (considering this diversity of students), faculty (and others) need to enable more varied, desirable, and rewarding experiences for students. For the student less advanced, readily accessible developmental ladders are needed. And for the benefit of all students, and of virtual necessity for the more advanced, faculty and institutions must eliminate many of the ceilings on perspectives, accredited learning experiences, and on growth itself. This means that faculty too must grow--often in new directions--and institutional rewards and incentives should be altered to foster more varied types of growth for faculty. For example, every college or department should consider devoting a proportion of its funds for instruction to experimental approaches (including the interdisciplinary) to teaching-learning.

Relevance, Learning and Motivation

Motivation is one key to student exploration and learning. But professorial insistence that the student absorb subject matter in a fashion traditional for the professionals of the particular discipline often destroys motivation and demands considerable memorization ("cramming") and/or compartmentalized thinking from the more developmentally laggard. Real learning stands the test of time and involves establishing meaningful connections between new and old ideas, not only within subject matter areas, but across the whole of one's understanding. In this sense, classroom material is "relevant" if it somehow ties in with the student's interests or motivation.

The less advanced student (one more lacking in the intrinsic motivation to learn) needs challenging, stimulating, broadly-ranging, and value-examining teachers to help him or her find personally-important ideas or concerns on which the new material has some bearing. To best facilitate learning, primary importance must be placed on encouraging

the process of thinking, evaluation, and sensing (whatever the field of application) rather than on the accumulation of knowledge. With facts of all kinds, the focus should be concerned with their broadest implications. Dynamic theory, particularly as it relates to life, must take precedence over all but crucial specifics (the foundation of theory). Lesser details will later and more naturally fall into place. Similar approaches will also adequately serve the more advanced student, except that he or she may want more detailed information, and will especially need the freedom and encouragement to explore, question, and criticize the assumptions behind the knowledge packaged into disciplinary perspectives, and the option to examine and evaluate this knowledge in new ways.

All in all, faculty might want to conceive of themselves as "resource persons" interested in developing the individualized, many-optioned approach to learning most likely to foster growth. As the variety of people emerging in the O-typology suggests, neither grades nor the degree itself are very indicative of the student's development, even when two students have studied the same major at the same institution. Individual needs as well as the sometimes arbitrary diversity associated with these apparently standardized measures suggest that letter grades should be abolished or made fully optional, and certification itself should be re-evaluated. While many alternatives may offer an improvement to letter grades, the use of "contract" learning exemplifies one approach to greater individualization. In any case, individualized majors should be a readily accessible reality for any student. Individual needs are also better served by policies that enable rather than hinder a slower pursuit of college certification and the return of older populations. In addition, a Bachelor's Degree in General Education should be available for the student who has searched and learned broadly, but found no satisfying specialty.

A more extensive personalization within higher education is another avenue available to help stimulate or maintain the higher levels of interest and motivation often important to learning. For example, most faculty, for their own growth as well as for the development of students, need to put greater emphasis on increasing the depth of interpersonal communication that occurs in the classroom. While group-centered projects provide less threatening learning experiences that facilitate interpersonal exchange and contact and offer experience in the co-operative teamwork essential to the future, in other situations students should be called upon to formulate their own views and to argue their positions in class. The less advanced student, especially, needs more structured opportunities to engage in personal exchanges of ideas, feelings, and views with--and to obtain "feedback" from--different others from the (college) community, including faculty members. But if faculty are to be able to personalize education, to serve as models of perpetual learners, or to enjoy any real respect, the student must find openness, both personal and professional, and not manipulation, dehumanization, rigidity, and concealment in authority.

Societal Relevance

Since many students are very interested in the societal and cultural web in which they are enmeshed, a second meaning of the word "relevance" overlaps with the more general first meaning. Here the question is directed toward events and dynamics in society. While the question is quite broad, in one sense it asks: What bearing do the assumptions, knowledge, or practice of a discipline have upon the socio-cultural realities of today's world and on the potentials of tomorrow?[2]

[2]While all perspectives, including the "scientific" itself, involve important questions of values and assumptions, intelligence testing may be used to illustrate the problem of underlying assumptions. Does

Questioning of assumptions is clearly crucial. But where is the "search for truth" of the professor who will not actively examine society and culture with the perspectives of his discipline and, conversely, examine the assumptions and practice of his discipline with the many possible values of society, culture, and man? All disciplines have much to offer in contribution to a sounder future, for example, by demystifying underlying values, preparation for constructive future uses of skills, or by cross-cultural analyses of the potentials of many nations, and of why peoples fail to live up to these potentials. It is from the avoidance of examination of assumptions (i.e., from an absence of "societal relevance") and a tacit support of the status quo that academia has often mistakenly been seen as "nonpolitical."

To better meet the need to question underlying values, most departments should consider developing classes required for the major that deal with the assumptions, values, and social responsibility of the discipline--courses made interesting by the challenging teams of more civil libertarian

---

I.Q. ("intelligence quotient") measure a genetically-determined general "intelligence"? Or is it primarily a measure of learned potentials which relate to particular standards and styles of coping (and to some kinds of "richness" in the home environment) that foster academic (and therefore societal) achievement, particularly for whites? The first response, I.Q. as genetically determined, was until recently a relatively hidden (yet very socially potent) assumption held by most of the scientific community. Such assumptions better enable society and educators to avoid responsibility for the conditions and practices which help to create and maintain differences in I.Q. scores among different sectors of the population.

For example, Pettigrew of Harvard references four sources in stating that: "A further embarassment to racist theories is created by the fact that the degree of white ancestry does not relate to Negro IQ scores." (Pettigrew, 1964, p. 130.) If this is true it seems likely that social conditions are ultimately responsible for Black-White I.Q. differences. We also know that it is the rare human indeed who comes even close to utilizing the full potential of the brain, and this too suggests our concern should be with facilitating growth rather than assuming that an I.Q. score represents a fixed limit.

faculty and graduate students who should teach them. More generally, team teaching itself has untapped potential, both within and across disciplines. The latter is especially important because of the need to see our society and culture from many angles. But the modest move toward more cross-disciplinary curricula only begins to meet the need to address social problems. Institutions of learning should have many courses dealing with the problems of the day, whether topical, scientific, professional, or general, and the values of such courses to the learner (if not also to the teachers) would be enhanced by presentations or debates (not confrontations) representing several sides of a controversy. Similarly, the college or department with a diversity of faculty viewpoints--and occasional public discussion or debate--is better suited to provide thought-provoking experiences for students. To obtain the range of people necessary to better provide a diverse questioning, most institutions of higher education also need more vigorous affirmative action programs.

The Community

As part of the address to social and societal problems and concerns, programs in community-oriented research, organizing, development, and city service should be subsumed under a department of Community Studies, provided more support, and given fuller accreditation as learning experiences for students. Locally, interested professors and students should be allowed to be a resource for solving community problems or to participate in or co-ordinate local efforts to deal with the broader problems of society. An especially important function of Community Studies would be to develop new community projects and employment, sponsor students or lead classes to accompany these involvements, and help to co-ordinate the creation of broader, topical, multi-disciplinary courses.[3]

---

[3]The potential for learning from community involvement is extensive, although reflection, discussion, and/or writing are often important accompaniments. For

Studies and work in community relations are important not only as learning experiences for students, but also for the public's evaluation of the institution (and of higher education in general). Events of the 1960s and the slipping financial support to higher education have made it clear that academia has failed to make the public aware and appreciative of the importance of the college and university as a source of criticism of the status quo and for experiment, planning, and action oriented toward a better future for society.[4] While there can be no overnight solution to this problem, reversion to more traditional policies will stifle growth and probably not bring a renewal of public appreciation.

---

example, as an introduction students might attend City Council meetings and discuss the issues and dynamics in class. More specifically, students could research a city issue, work for a local public official, organize an initiative measure for the ballot, or develop a conference to address some broader issue. They could volunteer for or work at a "rap center" or "switch-board," a half-way house, day care center, or with senior citizens. Ecology-related concerns can also provide important areas of community participation and learning. Some credit could be extended to travel when the student could demonstrate the experience had the necessary depth. More specialized and technical work experience should also be duly accredited toward the requirements of the major. In general, there seems to be no compelling reason why credit should not be granted for learning of many kinds that is or was acquired outside of the formal educational context. Institutions might also seek more ways to make direct use of, accredit, and pay for the manpower and brainpower of students (and faculty).

[4]While many statements of college spokesmen have failed to increase public awareness about the problems of education or society, public statements alone are in any case not sufficient. Academia's accredited educative functions must reach out (e.g., via cable or public television) and be available to the many. While consultation with all elements of the community is important to determine local needs, in order also to promote awareness among the people, programs must extend beyond vocational training and traditional "adult" classes to a broadened liberal arts curriculum that is relevant in today's world and includes critical, multi-valued appraisals of, and debates about, current problems.

Self, Society and Culture

A third perspective on "relevance" focuses more directly on the student's self and his or her relation to others, society and culture. This is a domain which has until recently been quite neglected in the academic world. Here the question is one asked in various forms by almost all students: What is my relationship to life and the world around me?

Because of the importance (to the individual and the society) of a continuing address to this question, a department of and major in "Self, Society and Culture" should be established throughout higher education. While nonmajors would have access to all courses, the major might include courses in such fields as Anthropology, Art, Sociology, Psychology, Philosophy-Religion, Ecology, Ethnic Studies, Women's Studies, Community Studies, and Self, Society and Culture. Each course would have a special focus on the self in relation to the discipline's more usual topics. While each of these areas has an importance of its own, each also has a special contribution to make to the understanding of oneself. Illustrations from a few fields should suffice to illustrate the general thrust of the idea.

Courses offered by a department of Self, Society and Culture, for example, could be oriented rather directly toward self study and self-understanding (including in interpersonal contexts).[5] Such course offerings

---

[5]Such courses might make use of, develop, or explore the following: 1) personal meaning and values in life; 2) potentials of human development, especially at the college level; 3) the processes of influence and development among students; 4) attitudes and opinions and the reasons for them; 5) social morality; 6) values clarification techniques; 7) attitude inventories and other self-assessment devices; 8) student-designed questionnaires suitable for themselves and others; 9) the encounter group format; 10) video-tape feedback; 11) meditation and yoga; 12) parapsychology. Other institutional personnel, such as the counseling staff, could also co-operate with, sponsor, or teach in some of these efforts.

While the focus of various possible courses from more traditional fields are inherent in the discipline, they are often underemphasized. For example,

would promote a better understanding of life and of the self, and facilitate growth to ameliorate various forms of alienation--opportunities which fit the needs and/or interests of students in several O-types.

The scope of Ethnic Studies and Women's Studies potentially includes a more immediate focus on the self as well as more general considerations important to people of all races and both sexes. Minorities need self-directed "ethnic" studies because of the bias and lack of understanding or expertise of whites. But to learn more about minorities, themselves, and their own institutions, whites too need Ethnic Studies, also taught by Blacks, Native Americans, Asians, and Chicanos and Puerto Ricans. So also must we (with considerable leadership from women) begin to examine the how and why of the woman's situation (and the man's) in our society and among ourselves.[6] Programs in Ethnic and Women's Studies should be designed so that many of the introductory courses are somewhat personalized but nevertheless nonthreatening to white or male students respectively.[7] Since we gain little or nothing by false pride or apologies for our society (or ourselves), Ethnic and Women's Studies would help us better illuminate the dark (repressed) side of our societal and personal past and present, and facilitate the personal and social awareness, problem-solving, and development necessary for the future.

Anthropology can provide considerable insight into the broader possibilities in life for oneself and humanity. Art can help one see through the illusions of society and culture which bind most of us. In Ecology we may come to better understand ourselves in relation to nature. Philosophy and Religion could focus on our basic values from many perspectives, and help us to understand more deeply the alternatives offered in other religious systems.

[6] In the long run, we may find that men in the U.S. have a shorter life expectancy because social encouragement of defensively "masculine" roles exacerbates the inordinate strain of struggle for economic survival and status in advanced oligarchic-capitalistic societies.

[7] When taught with a more personalized emphasis, introductory courses might include examination and (private) assessment of ethnocentrism or sex-role stereotypy, personal accounts of discrimination, and mixed discussion groups focused on relevant personal concerns, as well as a general overview of the reality of life for women or minorities.

Research

Despite an obvious need to re-emphasize teaching, to make it equal to (even if separate from) research/publication, research in educational settings also has untapped potential. For example, without detracting from the importance of most "basic" research, it could be directed towards topics more relevant to understanding ourselves, and the world in which we live, and to eliminating problems we have long known about, rather than toward warfare, covert social manipulation, and minutiae.

Since research data helps to illustrate the up-to-date concerns of a professor or discipline, and since raw data may be viewed from many perspectives, participation in research--or at least in the research interests of a professor--should often be introduced at the undergraduate level. Whole classes, collectively or as individuals, could be involved in the design of studies, and the collection and analysis of data relevant to course subject matter. Professorial commentary on the assumptions, methods, and problems of research, and on evaluation of findings could add considerably to student interest and understanding. Speculation on the reasons for results should be encouraged, and later student efforts to test hypotheses could follow.

The Student As a Human Being

Since students are also adult citizens, institutions of higher education should grant them the rights and privileges to which they are entitled. The remaining vestiges of authoritarian paternalism need to be eliminated. For example, students should be entirely responsible for and autonomous in their own rooms, and free from unwarranted search, seizure, and invasion of privacy. And since diverse, self-governing

communities are developmentally beneficial, dormitories would best be structured more like co-educational co-operatives in which rules and their enforcement, and dorm management and services, are ultimately controlled by students.[8] Such autonomy and self-responsibility in the dorms will also be less likely to create conditions where the developmentally laggard are segregated by themselves, which has the effect of lessening their potential for growth through interaction with peers.[9]

While rights in dormitories are rather basic, other participation in decision-making is equally important. While any one class of students is for only a few years affiliated with an institution, students as a constituency are permanent. Students have a right to representatives (plural) on Boards of Trustees or Regents, and on almost all (if not all) committees of any importance to or effect on them, and in many cases their power should be equal to the combined power of all other institutional "interest groups."[10]

---

[8]The organizational structure, government, and functioning of the University Students Co-operative Association, in Berkeley, which provides room, board, and a small but diverse community for perhaps 1200 students (in many separate buildings) could in many respects serve as a model for such democratic, student-governed residential communities.

[9]The institution as a whole should encourage the realization of communities of diversity. While communities of students who have much in common may in some ways function well as communities, only among largely self-motivated learners will growth be sure of continuance. Feldman and Newcomb's recommendation (1970, pp. 336-38) for smaller educational communities in a context of greater use of horizontal organization and local autonomy is a good one, with the provisio, however, that it seems important to limit homogeneity. Co-educational communities, for example, are almost invariably better facilitators of growth than are groupings limited to one sex, but deeper contact with any broad range of people provides growth opportunities absent in more homogeneously-peopled settings.

[10]Should faculty unionization and collective bargaining become a reality, it is even more essential that students be granted substantial institutional power.

For example, since students are the ones taught, their evaluation of faculty is essential to determine the impact of a teacher, and their opinions should carry at least 50 percent of the weight in decisions about hiring, retention, promotion, and tenure of those who teach.[11] Because of current disciplinary, professional, and faculty limitations, students need a primary role in the design of teacher evaluation procedures and instruments for evaluation. Furthermore, a teacher who, or a department which, is well-regarded by many students should almost never be dismissed or phased out. And student counsel should also be heeded in establishment and continuation of "regular" departmental courses. Within this context, individualized teaching would imply that the desires of individual students would be major determinants of options to pursue course-related material.[12]

Students need a fair share of power to aid in their development. In this vein, colleges and universities should help student government to develop a new relationship to the institution and a new image in the eyes of the public. The role and image should, except for legal sanctions generally available for use between unrelated groups, be one of inviolable independence. Actions and opinions of elected representatives would be

---

[11] While there are some important values served by the tenure system (at least in theory), in many respects the process of granting tenure as well as the prerogatives of being tenured warrant re-evaluation. While real student input is essential to improve the selection of faculty to be tenured, continued personal growth of faculty and modest standards of contribution must also be adequately guaranteed.

[12] For example, within a chosen area, a class majority might determine particular emphases, concerns, and directions (or several principal options) that a professor or course would take, while other students would pursue a more individualized address to the subject matter. It seems quite likely that greater student input would also help faculty members to better design courses and help suggest new areas of growth for faculty. While faculty too would have rights to pursue their interests, very few professors need fear that their knowledge is useless, although some will find many perspectives of less than primary relevance.

attributed to the (official) student government but not to the institution as a whole. Within this context, however, student government should be given responsibility extending beyond traditional roles (and financial support, possibly proportional to the cost of tuition and fees). For example, to facilitate changes where academia has been reluctant, student governments or other appropriate student groups (e.g., women, minorities) should be empowered to appoint half of the (otherwise qualified) faculty to the departments of Self, Society and Culture, Community Studies, Ethnic Studies, and Women's Studies. A similar student responsibility seems appropriate in the determination of the focus for new "topical" courses dealing with particular social or societal problems. While child care services, some counseling, and governance may be mentioned, a fuller listing of potential student responsibilities is too varied and extensive to be detailed here. But whether ceded to formerly token or "sandbox" student governments in which few really participated or to more democratic successors, only with more autonomy and more responsibility can students hope to maximize their growth and potential contribution, or to become more competent at the democratic exercise of citizenship.

A Final Concluding Note

While the perspective from human potentials or human development sometimes leads to rather different conclusions than analysis rooted in values more allied to the preservation of the status quo, the directions facilitative of human development will come as no surprise to the less rigid institutions and faculty members. Many of the ideas presented here have already found implementation in the more experimental colleges across the nation. For example, a few colleges and departments already successfully (and nearly equally) share decision-making with students. Similarly, the rationale for many of the programs in the more innovative cluster colleges parallels the argument being presented here, and many

of them employ some or many of the components suggested.[13]

The magnitude of the challenge to higher education is apparent, the failure to meet it perhaps disastrous. Although the public usually pays little attention to higher education, society cannot afford to permit colleges and universities to be institutions which must be dragged, kicking and screaming, into the modern world. We must revamp power structures, teaching, our approach to society and values, and we must experiment. More than almost all other societal institutions, higher education must INSTITUTIONALIZE HUMANE CHANGE. Governments will best serve a constructive role if they tie some of their funding to the implementation of more humane purposes and to experiment in general, particularly where students have at least a 50 percent say in choosing, if not also in designing, experimental options.

But experimentation will not in every instance guarantee success. Some of our experiments will fail because of inadequate or erroneous combinations of innovative elements.[14] Other seemingly appropriate experiments will fail because the particular student population was not well enough known, especially if student input was minimal. Student idealism may occasionally go overboard. And some experiments will fail because a fearful public or institutional status quo will react harshly when defenses are roused by removal of the veils of repression or by challenge to hypocrisy. And unfortunately, because they better meet narrow or neurotic needs, some experiments will succeed that are counter-productive to developmental potentials.

---

[13] See Jerry G. Gaff and associates, The Cluster College (1970), especially Chapter 2.

[14] For example, too much insistence on "academic rigor"--which usually means students must meet traditional criteria, whatever else they may also do--may actually limit the student's learning and time for other necessary development, and the experiment may well fall short of expectations or fail.

But the goals are fairly clear, and we may measure the value of most of our experiments by their contribution to the goal of holism in human development.

APPENDIX A
THE DIMENSIONS, THE O-TYPOLOGY, THE DATA

This appendix will perhaps best serve its functions if it provides further insight into the nature and method of the data, and if it examines the adequacy of the O-typology and of the O-typology procedure with reference to the data.

Developing the Dimensions

The general procedure used in the development of the dimensions involved three principal steps. First, an item pool consisting of all quantifiable (and apparently quantifiable) and scaled responses was factored to obtain a varimax solution, a set of factors all orthogonal to (uncorrelated with) one another. Secondly, the principal items for each of the more important factors were "preset" as "definers" of oblique (potentially correlated) "clusters." These clusters were then refined to maximize their independence and reliability. (Items which were loaded nearly equally on two or more clusters were excluded from cluster definitions.) Finally, a pool of clusters (i.e., scores of individuals on the various clusters obtained) was re-clustered. The "conglomerates," or clusters of clusters, emerged from this final computer "run." In actual fact, of course, the procedure was somewhat more complex.[1]

---

[1]Because the maximum number of variables that UCB's Ariel computer package will accommodate is 150, and since the analysis began with about 300 Senior

Decisions in the Typology

Prior to the third step (the final integrative re-clustering), the boiling-down approach left a pool of about 40 clusters (including one defined by only two items, but all others with three or more) and 17 single items. To this were added 8 varimax (uncorrelated) factors, from two separate analyses of students' scores on the 14 scales of the Omnibus Personality Inventory (OPI). One analysis factored the senior scores on the 14 scales, and the other factored the "senior minus freshman" or "difference" scores.[2] This pool of 65 clusters, factors, and items was then re-clustered, and the "conglomerates" began to emerge. (See Table 1

Questionnaire items, I first attempted to segregate the items into two distinct pools of 150. Ideally, correlations would be low between items in different pools, and higher within each pool. The maximum of 30 factors was permitted from each pool. Subsequent mixing (in a third 150-variable run) of the principal items of these "pre-factors" confirmed the general adequacy of the initial separations but allowed recombination of a few items initially separated from related items. (In the earlier factoring, most of the items of factors which accounted for little variance were discarded, but items of obvious importance, however singular or ambivalently loaded on more than one factor, were carried along toward subsequent analysis.) As relatively discrete groups of items emerged (i.e., items with high loadings on only one factor), they were preset as definers of clusters in Tryon's "cluster analysis" program (in which only the definers serve as a basis of an individual's score). Because of the difference in the two factoring processes (varimax rotation vs. cluster solution), and because of shifting item pools, some clusters were refined in two or three stages, essentially as suggested on p. 101 of Tryon and Bailey's Cluster Analysis. The individuals' scores on the various clusters were obtained from the runs where the clusters satisfactorily stabilized.

[2]While there is a dependent relationship between the two sets of factors from the OPI (both use senior scores), the importance of two of the "change" or "difference" factors nevertheless seemed to warrant their inclusion. (Furthermore, the "change" factors were not very strongly related to the senior "level" factors.) Three of the senior OPI factors linked up with other senior measures to help compose the conglomerates, and the fourth, "Expressive Intellectuality," fell mid-way between Conglomerates 3 and 4 (and was not used in the scoring of either dimension).

of the text for the final results.) In the first two re-clustering runs, the independence and reliability of the conglomerates were refined, and the first typology was tried, using 15 dimensions (the maximum number possible in the Tryon computer package).

In the second run (with 15 dimensions), 542 individuals fell into 520 of the 14,348,907 possible "sectors";[3] there were 14 doublets (2 people with scores in a particular sector) and 4 triplets. (Thus the largest core group encompassed only about three-quarters of one percent of the available sample population.) Examining the "sectoring" in this second re-clustering, it was apparent that there was some potential for an adequate O-typology if a minimum of three people were allowed to serve as the core of each O-type and if the dimensions were held to the 11 most important conglomerates, clusters, and factors.

In the third and final run (based on the 11 dimensions), where there were 177,147 possible sectors, the program was instructed to form an O-type around any nucleus (core) of 3 or more people. Thirteen O-types were generated from the 606 students with complete data. (The elimination of 4 dimensions increased the usable N.) There were 6 groups of 3; 4 groups of 4; and one group each of 5, 7, and 11 which served as cores for the 13 resultant O-types.

---

[3]The sectoring divided the scores of the students on each dimension into three groups--the upper 15.87%, the middle 69.15%, and the lowest 15.87% (corresponding to scores more than one standard deviation above the mean, scores within one standard deviation of the mean, and scores one or more standard deviations below the mean). Students with exactly the same pattern of high, medium, or low scores--across all the dimensions--were considered as falling in the same "sector." (Since the scores are not divided into three equal groups, not all sectors have the same probability of occurring.)

Tryon's suggested criterion for the formation of O-types, that two percent (or more) of the individuals in the sample have the same pattern of scores across the variables, was not found to be applicable.[4] Only the largest core group approached this "recommended" 2 percent determinant.

It seems clear that the 2 percent determinant is most appropriate for an analysis with fewer variables. With the great number and variety of items and scales in this analysis, it seemed far more appropriate to pursue the development of a more inclusive typology rather than a more truncated one, say, based on the first 6 dimensions (with 729 sectors and a strong likelihood that the number of students in several core sectors would reach the 2 percent criterion). A multivariate analysis based on only 6 dimensions would have eliminated several very important dimensions--such as religiosity, overall satisfaction with the college experience, and sex-related interests and dispositions--in the formation of the O-types. The data was simply far too rich to impose such restrictions unless it was definitely necessary.

Had I simply eliminated the "change" factors (and instead studied change in the resultant groups), leaving 9 dimensions and 19,683 possible sectors, there would have been 17 nuclei (sectors) with 4 or more students, or 10 with 5 or more (and 6 with 6 or more). However, 17 groups begins to be even more unwieldy than 13, and the particular nuclei that were available for the 10-group solution included no core groups defined originally by very high scores on the Conservative dimension (#1). (Compared to the 11-dimension, 13-group solution, the 9-dimension, 17-group solution also resulted in one fewer nucleus at the conservative end of the spectrum.) Despite earlier research and theoretical efforts

---

[4] Austin C. Frank, in his dissertation, "An Exploratory Study Toward a Multivariate, Test-Based College Student Typology," came to the same conclusion.

to devise "types" of students (which tended to minimize the number of types), 6 types--the third alternative above--did not seem adequate to this analyst. (The dispersion of characteristics, interests, and developments within the final 13 groups suggests that 6 types would even less adequately encompass the diversity of the students in the sample.) Thus the optimum solution for this data appeared to be the one that employed 11 dimensions. Within feasible limits, this solution maximized the number of variables included in the formation of the O-typology, and it seemed to have an adequately dispersed set of nuclei about which to form the O-types.

The "Rejects"

No systematic examination of the students "rejected" from assignment to the typology (N = 48) was undertaken. Grouped together with the students who had some missing data (N = 104), the students thus excluded tended almost invariably to have rather average scores (and standard deviations) on the 11 primary dimensions and on the many subsidiary dimensions. A cursory review of the "rejects" revealed one obvious fact: compared to the students included in the typology, the "rejects" had a much greater likelihood of having more scores that were one or more standard deviations from the means on the 11 primary dimensions. Furthermore, their patterns of scores were less likely to follow the pattern suggested by the overall correlations between the dimensions. Thus they were "legitimately" segregated from grouping in the O-types, either because of considerable idiosyncrasy and/or very different response styles. Considering the extensive coverage of the dimensions, the diversity of the sample, and the small cores from which each O-type originated, an 8% rate of "rejection" does not seem unduly high. In their book Cluster Analysis, for example, Tryon and Bailey (p. 5) report one study with 301 subjects but only 4 dimensions, and 16 "rejects" or "unique" persons (5%).

The Adequacy of the Procedure

The general adequacy of the procedure is also suggested by some additional considerations. For one thing, Tryon's procedure did not merge any of the groups into each other. And as the other students were added to the "core" students, only 9 of the 143 scores (11 dimensions times 13 groups) drifted 4.00 or more points (and all such "drifts" were less than 6.00 points) from the means of the core "assignees" (N's = 3 to 11). In addition, Scheffe's relatively conservative post-hoc procedure, which was used to test for differences, revealed at least two significant differences (and an average of 5.15) between each group and any other group.

Within the typology, the standard deviations on the 11 dimensions vary from 4.6 to 9.9 (on dimensions standardized to a standard deviation of 10.00), and average about 7.00. Thus students in any given O-type tend to show only about half of the variance seen in the sample as a whole. The range of average standard deviations for the 13 groups varies from 6.3 to 7.7. (The standard deviations of the scores of the 13 groups on the 11 dimensions are given in Table 1.)

But these standard deviations and the very modest "homogeneities" of the O-types as a whole reflect the fact that there remains considerable variation within each O-type. This dispersion has therefore been reflected in the descriptions of each of the groups; the groups are often described in terms of a range of characteristics with respect to religion, styles of achievement orientation, heterosocial development, etc. But the alternatives to this loose grouping would require many thousands of subjects and far more types, or fewer dimensions and an even greater dispersion of characteristics on many other important variables (i.e., on dimensions not included directly in the O-typology).

Table 1. Standard Deviations of the Scores of the 13 Groups on the 11 Dimensions

O-Types[2]	Dimensions[1] 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	6.52	7.12	8.18	5.52[a]	7.01	7.23	8.44	5.67[a]	8.32	7.59	7.09
2	7.41	6.92	7.97	5.99	7.54	8.03	7.52	8.67	9.52	8.34	7.98
3	7.30	7.81	5.39	4.65	4.67	5.98	7.79	8.58	9.13	7.11	7.40
4	5.47[a]	6.84	6.27	5.46	7.33	7.11	5.47	6.21	6.91	7.09	7.76
5	7.09	6.35	7.78	5.50	6.24	7.17	7.59	5.33	7.74	7.19	6.47
6	6.51	7.54	5.65	7.22	6.99	9186	6.47	5.82	6.46	8.09	7.50
7	5.46[a]	7.35	6.08	5.96	6.74	6.51	8.72	7.80	6.86	7.88	7.79
8	5.83	6.36	5.19	7.87	9.82	7.96	7.87	7.49	5.80	8.33	8.97
9	6.30	6.07	6.55	7.75	7.66	7.05	6.90	6.93	5.19	8.05	8.45
10	5.47[a]	6.39	7.04	5.63	5.91	6.78	7.50	4.80	6.25	6.78	8.72
11	5.95	5.26	6.90	7.75	6.86	7.03	8.17	7.91	5.78	8.53	6.70
12	5.35	5.90	6.30	7.10	6.85	8.02	4.61	8.94	6.97	6.09	6.29
13	7.28	7.97	6.34	7.68	7.14	5.22	5.88	5.29	6.10	7.49	8.80

[1] Short form dimension titles:
1. Conservative
2. Psychologically "Adjusted"
3. Own Intellectuality
4. In with Faculty
5. Social/People Focus
6. Vocational-Educational
7. "Masculine"
8. Religiosity
9. College Alienation
10. Increasing "Adjustment"
11. Increasing Consciousness

[2] Short form O-type titles:
1. Societally Alienated
2. More Generally Alienated
3. Socially Alienated Materialists
4. Emerging Women
5. Subject-Oriented Achievers
6. Intellectuals
7. Average Students Who Changed
8. Emotionally Dissonant Intellectuals
9. Vocationalist Achievers
10. Inexperienced Socials
11. Collegiates
12. Closed/Unchanging Males
13. Tradition-Bound Vocationalists

[a] For each dimension, scores were standardized to a standard deviation of 10.00. The homogeneity of each O-type on each dimension may therefore be judged relative to this yardstick. The standard deviations which are underlined in the table represent dispersions within an O-type which reflect less than one-third of the variance in the sample as a whole.

If we, as students of students and human development, are to in any fashion describe the world of college student outcome, change, and predispositions, this multivariate cluster analysis and O-typology procedure seems to have much to offer. Certainly no typology derived from theory largely unmodified by empirical reality begins to be adequate to describe the diversity of humanity that persists to graduation in the "regular" four years.

Of special value in the typological procedure, for example, is its capacity to discover less usual patterns of relationships between variables. For example, the correlation between the measure of conservatism and the measure of religiosity is +.34. Yet there is a pattern of scores on these two dimensions among some students which runs strongly counter to this modest "average" association.[5] Because this different pattern is somewhat likely to be associated with other (more general) patterns of characteristics that people ascribe to themselves, the O-typology procedure can "discover" a group the characteristics of which would include low conservatism and high religiosity. O-type 8 is a striking example of such a group; its means on Conservatism were 44.80 and on Religiosity were 57.29.

In the text, I have systematically attempted to note such variation in the mean score patterns of each O-type. Since scores of similar magnitude would also be expected on each component factor of the larger conglomerates, variations from such patterns were also noted in the text. The correlations between the 11 dimensions are presented in Table 2. These correlations aid in the conceptualization of the relationships between different important domains of life across a fairly broad sample of college students (as rated by themselves).

---

[5] Such strongly deviant patterns may, however, be somewhat unstable and likely to change in the immediate future.

Table 2. Correlations between the 11 Defining Dimensions of the O-typology

Dimensions[1]	Dimensions[1] 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	1.00	.19	-.63	-.17	-.04	.34	.15	.34	-.08	.10	-.20
2		1.00	.03	.24	.50	.29	.17	.20	-.43	.27	.04
3			1.00	.36	.19	-.12	-.25	-.09	-.03	-.13	.12
4				1.00	.48	.24	-.01	.17	-.44	.11	.12
5					1.00	.24	-.06	.36	-.43	.15	.21
6						1.00	.28	.11	-.27	-.03	.03
7							1.00	-.17	.02	.03	-.02
8								1.00	-.24	.13	-.03
9									1.00	-.17	.00
10										1.00	-.00
11											1.00

[1]The titles of the 11 dimensions are:

1. The Conservative Conglomerate
2. The Psychologically "Adjusted" Conglomerate
3. The Own Intellectuality Conglomerate
4. The Faculty Conglomerate
5. The Social-People Conglomerate
6. The Vocational-Educational Conglomerate
7. The "Masculine" Conglomerate
8. Religiosity (approximately conventional) Factor
9. College Alienation Factor
10. Increase in Others-Oriented Good Adjustment and Positive Self-Regard (OPI)
11. Increase in Intellectual, Religious, and Conscious Autonomy (OPI)

Regarding the two "change" dimensions (10 and 11), the reader should remember that the expressed relationship with some of the other dimensions (as implied in the correlation matrix) is somewhat questionable (because of regression and ceiling effects). Technically, the relationships are between nine polarizable "outcome" variables (Dimensions 1 through 9) and "degree of movement toward or away from" 2 other sets of poles (Dimensions 10 and 11). However, the only direct dependency is between the OPI-based "change" scores (10, 11) and three conglomerates which include senior OPI factors (1, 2, 7).[6] (The freshman and senior OPI means for each O-type were available to the analyst to enable more accurate interpretation of group change scores on the OPI.)

The Data

While some of the "reliabilities" of the clusters do not seem high by conventional standards, the approach here is unusual. Only Dimension 9 (College Alienation Factor)--for which there was no alternative but to omit it as a defining dimension--in fact remains weak. Most of the other dimensions have the status of a conglomerate (Dimensions 1-7). Dimensions 10 and 11 consist of scores derived from the varimax rotation scoring of the 14 scale scores (based on 390 items) of an attitude inventory (OPI) with a high reliability. The Dimensions have loadings of .42 to .78 on 5 or 6 of the 14 scales. Scores on Dimension 8 are

---

[6] Although the other (equally weighted) factors which compose the conglomerates lessen the direct dependency, the dependence is likely to be strongest between Dimensions 2 and 10, and 1 and 11. There is also a "forced" independence (orthogonality), as is customary with varimax rotation factors, between Dimensions 10 and 11. (Had this correlation been based only on the principal scales loaded on each factor, inspection suggests that the correlation would be near zero and slightly negative. See Appendix C.)

validated by reliable additional information.[7] While many of the factors which compose the conglomerates also have relatively low reliabilities, the conglomerates would have a higher reliability if the computations had been carried out on the items (with a minimum of 12 per conglomerate) rather than on the factors (usually 3 or 4 per conglomerate). Thus the figures of Table 3 greatly underestimate the true "reliability" of the conglomerates but provide a vague measure of the coherence of each conglomerate.

A second reason for some of the low reliabilities is that the item pool was not specifically designed for factor analysis. Although many of the items have a long history in college student research, to my knowledge, no previous effort has been made to integrate such a large variety of important student attitudes, interests, and behaviors. This lack of precedent almost precluded a systematic attempt to design an instrument with, say, a minimum of 5 items directly aimed at assessing each of the more important factors subsequently obtained.

However, this study helps to lay some effective groundwork for further use of these concepts. To improve reliability, some factors require the formulation of additional items which are closely related to the general domain of the factor. Some items need an increased number of alternatives for the student respondent, and a few items need improvement of other kinds (more nearly equal intervals, better wording, etc.). Appendix B (in conjunction with Table 1 of the text) identifies the items from the Senior Questionnaire which subsequently became constituents of the 11 primary dimensions, and Appendix C clarifies the contribution of the OPI to the 11 basic dimensions.

---

[7] Scores on Dimension 8 (Religiosity) are supported by the groups' scores on the Religious Orientation scale of the senior OPI.

Table 3. Estimated Reliabilities for the 11 Dimensions

Dimension	Number of Factors (F), Scales (S), or Items (I)	Estimated Split-Half Reliability[1]
Conservative Conglomerate	(8F + 1I)	.868
Psychologically "Adjusted" Conglomerate	(6F)	.789
Own Intellectuality Conglomerate	(4F)	.738
Faculty Conglomerate	(4F)	.728
Social-People Focus Conglomerate	(3F)	.662
Vocational-Educational Conglomerate	(3F)	.683
"Masculine" Conglomerate	(3F)	.704
Religiosity (approx. conventional) Factor	(4I)	.641
College Alienation Factor	(3I)	.647
Increasing "Adjustment" Factor	$(2^{x}14S)^{2}$	—
Increasing Consciousness Factor	$(2^{x}14S)^{2}$	—

[1] Reliabilities are for the unit indicated (e.g., 8Factors + 1Item in the case of the Conservative Conglomerate). See the accompanying section entitled "The Data" for additional information.

Reliabilities of the various units above are based on the split-half estimation in the Tryon cluster analysis program.

[2] These factors are based on a Varimax factoring of the difference scores (Senior-minus-Freshman) for the 14 scales of the Omnibus Personality Inventory.

APPENDIX B

ITEMS OF THE SENIOR QUESTIONNAIRE AND THE CONSTITUENTS OF THE FACTORS OF THE FIRST NINE DEFINING DIMENSIONS

Appendix B presents the Senior Questionnaire. The items used as constituents of the first nine defining dimensions are marked as indicated in the footnote.[1] Used together with Table 1 of the text, Appendix B will enable the reader to more fully comprehend the essence of each dimension. Some of the Senior Questionnaire items were recoded from their "raw" form to better approximate the required directional nature of quantification and to better approach the equal intervals that are desirable between each of the options open to the respondent.[2]

With Appendix B the reader may also obtain a better sense of the breadth of the additional information that was available to aid in the interpretation of each of the groups.[3]

---

[1]For example, "1c" means that the item is a constituent of the factor marked "1c" ("New Morality Freedoms Endorsement") in Table 1 of the text. If such a designation is preceded by a minus sign, the item is negatively loaded on the designated factor. (By convention, factors are titled according to the meaning of numerically high scores.)

[2]For future studies of a similar nature, some of the items should be redesigned to better meet these requirements or to extend the range of possible responses.

[3]A complete appendix of the interview protocols and additional questions asked only of the interviewees, or of the Freshman Questionnaire (which had considerable parallelism with the Senior), is beyond the scope of these appendices.

The reader is referred to Appendix C for the remaining (OPI) constituents of the 11 defining dimensions.

Most but not all of the quantifiable items were used in the initial factor analyses. However, most of the items not indicated as used in the typology were constituents of the supplementary factors also used as descriptors for the 13 groups.

(50-1, 2)

Center for Research and Development
in Higher Education
University of California
Berkeley, California

(75-80)

SENIOR QUESTIONNAIRE, 1970

This questionnaire contains a variety of items, some of which pertain to family, faculty, religion, politics, values, etc. Although you are not required to do so, we hope that you will be able to respond to all of the questions.

All responses to this survey will be kept confidential and under no circumstances will they be made available on an individual basis to any person or institution.

Name (Please print): ..... (Last) ..... (First) ..... (Initial)

Women: If married since entering college, please include your maiden name in brackets, after your married name.

1. Specifically, what is your major or area of academic concentration?

2. In which *one* of the following general categories does it fall? Check one only.

(1-2)
10 ___ Humanities: Eng., Hist., Phil., Relig.
11 ___ Journalism, Speech
12 ___ Soc. Sci.: Anthro., Econ., Pol. Sci., Psych., Soc.
13 ___ Languages, Linguistics
14 ___ Visual Arts, Music, Drama
15 ___ Commercial Art
16 ___ Architecture
17 ___ Physical Sciences
18 ___ Engineering
19 ___ Biological Sciences
20 ___ Mathematics
21 ___ Agriculture, Forestry
22 ___ Business Administration
23 ___ Communications
24 ___ Education: Elem., Second.
25 ___ Home Econ., Library Science, Phys. Educ.
26 ___ Medical Technology, Nursing, Phys. Therapy
27 ___ Pharmacy
28 ___ Social Work
29 ___ Other

3. *If* this present major was *not* your initial choice, what was your original intention?

4. *And*, in terms of the general categories in Question 2, in which area would this earlier choice have fallen? Record the appropriate two-digit number in the space provided.
(3-4) [ ]

5. When did you decide on your present major?
(5)
1 ___ 6th grade or earlier
2 ___ 7th-9th
3 ___ 10th-12th
4 ___ 1st year college
5 ___ 2nd year
6 ___ 3rd year
7 ___ 4th year

6. What were the main reasons for the choice of your present major? Check all *those* that apply.
(6) ___ Long-term interest
(7) ___ Made good grades in this subject
(8) ___ It appeared to have the least overall difficulty or amount of work
(9) ___ Parents' wish or advice
(10) ___ Faculty encouraged me
(11) ___ Prestige of occupation toward which it leads
(12) 5c ___ Leads to work with people
(13) ___ Freedom of course selection in that department
(14) ___ I had friends majoring in it who influenced me
(15) ___ Quality of faculty or their approach
(16) ___ Opportunity for significant accomplishment in the area
(17) ___ Other; specify:

(6a) 7. Not counting class time, how many hours per week, on the average, do you study?
(18)
1 ___ 0-5 hours
2 ___ 6-10
3 ___ 11-15
4 ___ 16-20
5 ___ 21-25
6 ___ 26-30
7 ___ 31-35
8 ___ More than 35

8. Were you ever employed while studying at college? If so, during what school years did you work? Check *those* that apply.
(19) ___ 1st year
(20) ___ 2nd
(21) ___ 3rd
(22) ___ 4th

9. *If* you were employed during this present school year, generally how many hours a week did you work?
(23)
1 ___ 0-5 hours
2 ___ 6-10
3 ___ 11-15
4 ___ 16-20
5 ___ More than 20

10. In terms of your total expenses while at college, approximately what percent was paid by your parents?
(24)
1 ___ 0%
2 ___ 1-24
3 ___ 25-49
4 ___ 50-74
5 ___ 75-99
6 ___ 100

11. Which *best* describes your present living arrangements?
(25)
1 ___ Dorm
2 ___ Sorority or fraternity house
3 ___ Approved school residence, e.g., co-op, etc.
4 ___ With parents at home or with relatives
5 ___ Apartment or rented room, alone
6 ___ Apartment with one or more others of same sex
7 ___ Apartment with spouse
8 ___ Commune; house with others of both sexes
9 ___ Other; specify:

12. The following is a list of types of magazines, together with a few examples for clarification of the groupings. Please indicate the types you have been reading during this past year. Check *those* that apply.
(26) ___ Business (Business Week, Consumer's Report, Fortune, etc.)
(27) ___ Commentary, literary and political (Atlantic Monthly, Harper's, National Review, New Republic, etc.)
(28) ___ Cultural and scientific (American Heritage, National Geographic, Scientific American, etc.)
(29) ___ Science fiction
(30) 7c ___ Hobby and sports (Boating, Hi-Fi, Outdoor Life, Popular Mechanics, etc.)
(31) ___ Humor (Mad, etc.)
(32) ___ News and World Affairs (Time, Newsweek, etc.)
(33) ___ Occupational and professional
(34) ___ Popular fashion, pictorial, homemaking and digests (Life, Vogue, Esquire, Better Homes and Gardens, Reader's Digest, etc.)
(35) ___ Religious
(36) ___ Travel (Holiday, Venture, etc.)
(37) -18 ___ Underground periodicals
(38) ___ Other; specify:

(9a) 13. How many books, other than those assigned in class, have you read for your own pleasure during the past year?
(39)
1 ___ No books
2 ___ 1
3 ___ 2
4 ___ 3-4
5 ___ 5-9
6 ___ 10-14
7 ___ 15-24
8 ___ 25 books or over

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

14. **Indicate the extent of your participation in each of the following creative activities. Check the appropriate response for *each* activity.**

		Never 1	Sometimes 2	Often 3
3b (40)	Visual arts			
(41)	Dance			
(42)	Dramatics			
3b (43)	Literary writing			
(44)	Music			
(45)	Photography			
(46)	Debating, speaking			
(47)	Research projects			
	Others; specify:			
(48)				
(49)				

15. **Have you decided, even tentatively, what occupation or vocation you will enter after college?**

(50) 1 ____ Yes
2 ____ No (If no, skip to question 20)

(6c) 16. ***If* yes, what is your occupational choice? [Be as specific as possible]:**

status-level code used

(-6b) 17. ***If* yes, how definite is your choice of an occupation?**

(51) 1 ____ Very definite
2 ____ Fairly definite, but still considering other choices
3 ____ Very tentative
4 = "no" to Ques. 15

18. ***If* yes, when did you arrive at this vocational decision?**

(52) 1 ____ 6th grade or earlier
2 ____ 7th–9th
3 ____ 10th–12th
4 ____ 1st year college
5 ____ 2nd year
6 ____ 3rd year
7 ____ 4th year

19. ***If* yes, what person had the greatest influence on your occupational choice?**

(53) 1 ____ Mother
2 ____ Father
3 ____ Other relative
4 ____ Close friend
5 ____ High school teacher, advisor
6 ____ College teacher
7 ____ College advisor
8 ____ Other; specify

(6c) 20. **What is the highest level of education that you expect to attain during your lifetime?**

(54) 1 ____ Bachelor's degree
2 ____ Teaching credential
3 ____ Master's degree
4 ____ Ph.D. or D.Sc.
5 ____ Professional degree (law, med., dentistry, etc.)
6 ____ I have no idea

21. **What are your present plans for next year:**

(55) 1 ____ Full time employment
2 6c Graduate school
3 ____ Professional school
4 ____ Part time school
5 ____ Military service
6 ____ Travel
7 ____ Homemaking
8 ____ Other:

22. **What is your marital status?**

(56) 1 ____ Single
2 ____ Steady boy/girl friend
3 ____ Engaged or planning to be married
4 ____ Married
5 ____ Separated, divorced, widowed
6 ____ Other:

23. ***If* unmarried, when do you expect to be married?**

(57) 1 ____ Before graduation from college
2 ____ Right after graduation
3 ____ After graduate or professional school
4 ____ After a period of employment
5 ____ Do not expect to marry
6 ____ Don't know

24. ***If* married, when did you marry?**

(58) 1 ____ Before entering college
2 ____ 1st year college [or following summer]
3 ____ 2nd year
4 ____ 3rd year
5 ____ 4th year

25. **(This question for *women* only) For what length of time do you expect to be employed after college?**

(59) 1 ____ For a brief period before marriage
2 ____ For brief intervals throughout my life
3 ____ Part time for the major part of my life
4 ____ Full time for the major part of my life
5 ____ Do not expect to be employed
6 ____ Don't know

26. **From the following list, what are the most important concerns that you see yourself having to face in the next few years. Record the appropriate category number in the spaces provided.**

1 Financial
6c 2 Grades, studying; staying in school; deciding on specialty
3b 3 Creative effort; artistic achievement
4 Deciding on a career; finding a job; career and life goals
5 Marriage; finding a mate; family life
6 The draft; military service
7 Finding identity; life goals; life style
8 Relationship with parents
9 Other; specify

(60–2) ____ Most important concern
____ Second most important
____ Third most important

all other = 4

(63–72) b (73–4) 08 (75–80)

27. How important do you expect *each* of the following areas to be for you in your life after college?

		Not important 1	Somewhat important 2	Important 3
3b	(1) Artistic interests			
	(2) Community activities			
	(3) Family concerns and interests			
	(4) Financial interests			
5c	(5) Humanitarian service			
3a	(6) Intellectual interests			
1h	(7) Politics			
	(8) Recreation, hobbies			
8	(9) Religion			
7c	(10) Sports, athletics			
6b	(11) Vocational pursuits			

28. What is your approximate average grade? In case you don't know exactly, how do you think your instructors rate you?

(12) 1 ____ Excellent (mostly A's or an average of 3.5 or above)
2 ____ Good (mostly B's or an average of 2.8–3.4)
3 ____ Average (mostly C's or an average of 2.0–2.7)
4 ____ Poor but passing (mostly D's and C's or an average of 1.6–1.9)
5 ____ Not passing (mostly D's and F's or an average of 1.5 or below)

29. *If* you know, what is your grade-point average to one decimal point? Record the two-digit number in the space provided.

(13–14) [ ]

30. Have you done any of the following for academic credit? Check *those* that apply.

(15) ____ Spent one or more years abroad in a program for which your college gave you credit
(16) ____ Spent one or more years at another college or university in this country
(17) ____ Worked in a field center
(18) ____ Other(s); specify .....

31. In terms of your own personal satisfaction while at college, how important to you were *each* of the following:

		Not important 1	Somewhat important 2	Important 3
	(19) Course work in general			
	(20) Course work in field of major interest			
	(21) Individual study or research			
4a	(22) Getting to know faculty members			
	(23) "Bull-sessions" with fellow students			
5b	(24) Student government			
1h	(25) Political activism			
7c	(26) Athletics			
5b	(27) Clubs and student activities			
5a	(28) Parties and social life			
3b	(29) Individual artistic or literary work			
3c	(30) Self-discovery, self-insight			

32. The following are examples of well-known ways students, both as individuals or as subgroups, have described their interests and activities while at college. Given the necessarily brief statement of these modes, to what degree do you currently reflect these various orientations? For *each* item, check the appropriate position on the 7-point scale.

		Very little 1	Somewhat 2	Less than average 3	Average 4	More than average 5	Much 6	Very much 7
6b	(31) Acquiring knowledge and skills with which to make a living.							
5a	(32) Being a socially active individual.							
6a	(33) Commitment to achieving good grades.							
3b	(34) Strong esthetic interests and cultural pursuits.							
-5a	(35) General non-affiliation or uncommitment; not socially active.							
8	(36) Development and practice of religious life.							
5b	(37) Involvement with student government.							
6a	(38) Intensive scholarship in academic specialty.							
5b	(39) Joining clubs as an extracurricular activity.							
3a	(40) Following intellectual interests on one's own.							
7c	(41) Participation in sports, athletics.							
5c	(42) The helping of others in any formal or informal way.							
3c	(43) Developing and fulfilling one's self.							
6b	(44) Enhancing upward mobility via college education.							
1h	(45) Active in political and social issues.							
5a	(46) Social activity with members of the opposite sex.							
-1g	(47) Hip nonconformity.							
	(48) Wide eclecticism; interest in different activities.							
-6a	(49) Avoidance of academic effort, wasting time.							
	(50) Acceptance of traditional collegiate values.							

33. **Please indicate whether you feel you've changed in the following attributes compared to when you began college. For *each* item check the appropriate response.**

	Decreased	Changed very little	Increased
	1	2	3
(51) Maturity			
(52) Religious concerns and beliefs			
(53) Political concerns or awareness			
(54) Acceptance of other racial groups			
(55) Political liberalness			
(56) Emotional stability			
66 (57) Commitment to a vocation			
(58) Commitment to a particular style of life			
3c (59) Self-awareness, self-insight			
(60) Intellectual interests in your field			
(61) Intellectual interests in general			
(62) Esthetic interests			
(63) The firmness of your sense of identity			
(64) Concern with social issues			
(65) Scope and awareness of ethical standards			
(66) Ability to form close relationships			

34. **Below are listed some educational objectives. Would you indicate whether you feel you've progressed in these skills, compared to when you began college. For *each*, check the degree of progress you feel you have made.**

	Very little or no progress	Some progress	Much progress
	1	2	3
(67) Knowledge of specifics in field, such as terminology or trends			
(68) Knowledge of universals and abstractions in a field			
(69) Ability to comprehend or interpret, or to extrapolate			
(70) Ability to evaluate material and methods			
(71) Ability to apply abstractions or principles to particular situations			
(72) Understanding of scientific method			

(73-4) (75-80)

35. **All in all, how satisfied have you been with your total college experience?**

(9)

(1) 1 ____ Very satisfied
2 ____ Satisfied
3 ____ Somewhat satisfied
4 ____ Neutral or mixed feelings
5 ____ Somewhat unsatisfied
6 ____ Unsatisfied
7 ____ Very unsatisfied

36. **If you were to choose an *ideal* college (or "had it to do over again"), which of the following features would you prefer to have? Choose *one* from each pair. If neither of the two alternative choices is exactly what you would like, check the one that comes nearest.**

(2) 1 ____ Mostly lecture classes
2 ____ Mostly group discussion classes, seminars

(3) 1 ____ A predominantly residential campus
2 ____ A campus where most students can commute from home

(4) 1 ____ Small student body (around 1,000)
2 ____ Large student body (around 10,000)

(5) 1 ____ Publicly supported college
2 ____ Privately supported college

(6) 1 ____ Campus located in or near a city
2 ____ Campus located away from large cities

(7) 1 ____ Has fraternities and sororities
2 ____ Has no fraternities or sororities

(8) 1 ____ No graduate or professional schools
2 ____ Has graduate and professional schools

(9) 1 ____ Intercollegiate athletics not emphasized
2 ____ "Big time" intercollegiate athletics

(10) 1 ____ Open enrollment
2 ____ Highly select enrollment

(11) 1 ____ Courses graded "pass" or "fail"
2 ____ Courses given letter grades (A, B, C, D, F)

(12) 1 ____ Students quite involved in off-campus politics
2 ____ Students mainly concerned with campus activities

(13) 1 ____ Much emphasis on independent study
2 ____ Little emphasis on independent study

(14) 1 ____ Quarter system
2 ____ Semester system

-ie (15) 1 ____ College traditional in most respects
2 ____ College experimental in most respects

(16) 1 ____ Co-educational
2 ____ All one sex

(17) 1 ____ Much competitiveness for grades, recognition
2 ____ Little competitiveness for grades, recognition

(18) 1 ____ Opportunity to live close to home
2 ____ Opportunity to live away from home

(19) 1 ____ Closely knit college community
2 ____ Relatively impersonal college community

(20) 1 ____ Emphasis on a broad, general program
2 ____ Emphasis on a specialized area of learning

(21) 1 ____ Highly rigorous academic program
2 ____ Program of average academic difficulty

(22) 1 ____ Little direct contact with teachers
2 ____ Working closely with teachers

37. **Which one of the following best describes your present religious beliefs or affiliation?**

(8)

(23) 1 2 Agnostic
2 1 Atheist
3 5 Catholic
4 3 Eastern religion and/or philosophy
5 3 Jewish
6 4 Protestant, specify
7 6 Other, specify
8 6 Prefer not to answer

38. Apart from any formal religious affiliation, how do you think of yourself?

(24) 1 ____ Deeply religious
2 ____ Moderately religious
3 ____ Largely indifferent to religion
4 ____ Basically opposed to religion
5 ____ No opinion

39. Have you experienced any of the following personal events during your college career so far? Check *those* that apply.

(25) ____ Separation or divorce of parents
(26) ____ Serious illness or death of parent
(27) ____ Emotional or psychological difficulties
(28) ____ Serious financial problems
(29) ____ Romantic conflicts or disappointments
(30) ____ Serious drop in academic performance
(31) ____ Loss of valued friend
(32) ____ Severe break between yourself and family
(33) ____ Serious personal illness or accident
(34) ____ Other; specify: _____

40. Some people are very involved in developing or expanding their self-awareness. How important is this for you?

(35) 1 ____ Of extreme importance to me
2 ____ Of some importance to me
3 ____ Of little importance for the most part

41. How close would you say you are to your father and mother? (*If* this item does not apply to you for either or both parents please indicate.)

	Mother	Father	
(36-7)	1 ____	1 ____	Extremely close
	2 ____	2 ____	Quite close
	3 ____	3 ____	Somewhat close
	4 ____	4 ____	Not very close at all
	5 ____	5 ____	Does not apply

42. Has there been any change in your relationship with either of your parents since you have been in college?

	Mother	Father	
(38-9)	1 ____	1 ____	It has greatly changed
	2 ____	2 ____	It has somewhat changed
	3 ____	3 ____	No change

43. *If* there has been a change in your relationship with either or both of your parents, choose from the following list *those* changes that apply and check the appropriate column.

	With mother only	With father only	With both parents
	1	2	3
(40) We have grown closer together.	____	____	____
(41) We have grown farther apart.	____	____	____
(42) We are more apt to discuss our personal lives.	____	____	____
(43) We are less apt to discuss our personal lives.	____	____	____
(44) We are more apt to discuss issues and ideas.	____	____	____
(45) We are less apt to discuss issues and ideas.	____	____	____
(46) My opinions and judgments are more respected.	____	____	____
(47) We quarrel more frequently now. I have my own value system which is different.	____	____	____
(48) We declared a truce. Our values are so different that arguing is futile.	____	____	____
(49) I am more psychologically independent.	____	____	____

44. Some people feel things that happen to them in life are mostly beyond the individual's control while others feel that a person has control over events. In general, to what extent do you feel the things that happen to you in your life are due to your own individual actions? Check *one*.

(50) 1 ____ Not at all due to my individual actions
2 ____ Slightly
3 ____ Somewhat
4 ____ Rather often
5 ____ More often than not
6 ____ Usually
7 ____ Almost always
8 ____ Completely due to my individual actions

45. The following twenty items are 7-point scales made up of paired adjectives. On the first part rate (a) how you think you *really are* by checking the relative position in terms of each adjectival pair. Then, on the similar set of scales following, rate (b) how you think you *would like to be*. Be sure to respond to *each* item by checking the relative scale position which best rates your self-concept.

a) MYSELF AS I REALLY AM

			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
2f	(51)	practical	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	impractical
7a	(52)	masculine	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	feminine
2f	(53)	clean	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	dirty
3d	(54)	shallow	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	deep
2e	(55)	strong	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	weak
2e	(56)	active	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	passive
	(57)	cold	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	hot
2c	(58)	bad	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	good
	(59)	beautiful	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	ugly
2a	(60)	unstable	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	stable
	(61)	safe	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	dangerous
2c	(62)	unpleasant	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	pleasant
-3d	(63)	complex	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	simple
-2c	(64)	kind	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	cruel
	(65)	light	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	heavy
	(66)	dull	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	sharp
-2a	(67)	relaxed	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	tense
7a	(68)	hard	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	soft
2a	(69)	sick	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	healthy
-2e	(70)	slow	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	fast

(71–2) b (73–4) 10 (75–80)

b) MYSELF AS I WOULD LIKE TO BE

			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
2f	(1)	practical	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	impractical
7a	(2)	masculine	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	feminine
2f	(3)	clean	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	dirty
3d	(4)	shallow	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	deep
	(5)	strong	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	weak
2e	(6)	active	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	passive
	(7)	cold	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	hot
	(8)	bad	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	good
	(9)	beautiful	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	ugly
-2f	(10)	unstable	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	stable
2f	(11)	safe	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	dangerous
	(12)	unpleasant	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	pleasant
-3d	(13)	complex	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	simple
	(14)	kind	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	cruel
	(15)	light	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	heavy
	(16)	dull	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	sharp
	(17)	relaxed	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	tense
7a	(18)	hard	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	soft
	(19)	sick	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	healthy
	(20)	slow	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	fast

46-8. Most Americans have an ethnic identity, whether based on race, religion and/or family's national origin. In the following three lists, check those item(s) which are part of your identity. Do *not* check an item just because it describes your family background, but *only* if it is part of the way you really think of *yourself*. Since the lists are not exhaustive, please specify any additional aspects.

46. From this list, check the *one* item that best applies:

(21-2) 01 ____ Afro-American
02 ____ Black
03 ____ Negro
04 ____ Arab
05 ____ Chinese
06 ____ Japanese
07 ____ Korean
08 ____ Phillipine
09 ____ Other Asian: specify:
10 ____ Polynesian
11 ____ Mexican
12 ____ Chicano
13 ____ Brown
14 ____ Puerto Rican
15 ____ Latin American: specify:
16 ____ Caucasian, White
17 ____ Native American (Indian)
18 ____ Other: specify:

47. *If* an item from this list is an important part of your identity, check the *one* that best applies:

(23-4) 01 ____ Armenian
02 ____ Canadian
03 ____ English
04 ____ French
05 ____ German
06 ____ Greek
07 ____ Irish, Scotch, Welsh
08 ____ Italian
09 ____ Polish
10 ____ Portuguese
11 ____ Russian
12 ____ Scandinavian: specify:
13 ____ Spanish
14 ____ Other European, specify:

48. *If* an item from this list is an important part of your identity, check the *one* that best applies:

(25) 1 ____ Catholic
2 ____ Protestant
3 ____ Jewish
4 ____ Buddhist
5 ____ Other: specify:

49. Regardless of immediate issues in politics, with which group are you generally most sympathetic?

(26) 1 1 Republican
2 3 Democrat
3 2 Independent
4 4 Socialist
5 6 Other: specify:
6 5 Prefer not to answer

50. From a political standpoint how would you describe yourself?

(27) 1 1 Radical
2 2 Liberal
3 3 Moderate
4 4 Conservative
5 5 Very conservative
6 3 Non-political
7 0 Anarchist
8 6 Don't know
9 6 Prefer not to answer

51. In general, how do you feel about each of the following statements?

		True 1	False 2
(28)	Most public officials are not really interested in the problems of the average man.		
(29)	These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.		
(30)	Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.		
(31)	In spite of what some people say, the situation of the average man is getting worse, not better.		
(32)	Most people don't really care what happens to the next fellow.		

52. Indicate your status or opinion about the following groups.

		Member 1	Sympathetic 2	Neutral 3	Opposed 4	Don't Know 5
	(33) John Birch Society					
	(34) Young Americans for Freedom (YAF)					
	(35) Young Democrats					
	(36) Young Republicans					
1f	(37) Young Socialist Alliance (YSA)					3
1f	(38) Young People's Socialist League (YPSL)					3
1f	(39) Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)					3
1a	(40) Black Panthers					3
1i	(41) Afro-American Societies, Black Student Unions					3
	(42) Peace Corps					
1c	(43) Asian American Students					3
1c	(44) Chicano groups					3

53. For each of the following statements regarding race relations, indicate the extent of your agreement by checking your response on the 5-point scale.

		Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Don't Know 3	Agree 4	Strongly Agree 5
	(45) Integrated housing is preferable to neighborhoods composed chiefly of ethnic minorities.					
	(46) Minorities should try to be assimilated into the broader culture as much as possible.					
	(47) All children should be encouraged to learn as much as possible about their ethnic background.					
-1a	(48) Basically, the U.S. is a racist society.					
	(49) Participation in the control of schools, businesses, etc. is a better means of attaining racial equality than integration of such facilities.					
	(50) Emphasis on various racial and cultural styles (such as dress, music, food, speech, etc.) should be encouraged.					
	(51) Education is a better means for achieving racial equality than seeking direct political or economic power or control.					
	(52) It would be a good idea for every college student to have the opportunity to room with a student of a different ethnic background.					

54. Indicate how you feel about the following statements by checking the appropriate response:

	Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Don't Know 3	Agree 4	Strongly Agree 5
A person who is mature enough to go to college should have the freedom to make personal decisions about the use of:					
(53) Cigarettes					
1c (54) Alcohol					
1c (55) Marijuana					
(56) There should be governmental restrictions on the use of LSD					
-1a (57) A person who advocates unpopular actions or holds unpopular ideas, no matter how extreme, should be allowed to speak to students.					
1a (58) Present members of the Communist Party should not be allowed to teach in college					
1a (59) Legislative committees should investigate the political beliefs of university faculty.					
1a (60) Our military involvement in Vietnam should be supported.					
(61) Generally, it is hard for a person over 30 to really understand the young today.					
1c (62) Birth control pills for women who want them should be available from campus health services.					
1c (63) Decisions regarding abortion should be left up to the individual woman involved.					
1d (64) Students should participate significantly in decisions regarding content and organization of courses and academic policy.					

55. Approximately what percentage of college students on your campus do you think have used the following at least once? Estimate for each of the three groupings.

	Marijuana	Amphetamine, Speed, etc.	LSD	
(65–7)	1 _____	1 _____	1 _____	Less than 1%
	2 _____	2 _____	2 _____	Less than 5
	3 _____	3 _____	3 _____	Less than 10
	4 _____	4 _____	4 _____	Less than 25
	5 _____	5 _____	5 _____	Less than 50
	6 _____	6 _____	6 _____	Less than 100%

56. In general, how do you feel about premarital sexual relations?

1c (68) 1 _____ Disapprove
2 _____ All right for others, but not for myself
3 _____ Approve
4 6 No opinion

57. How do you feel about both sexes living together unmarried?

1c (69) 1 _____ Disapprove
2 _____ All right for others, but not for myself
3 _____ Approve
4 6 No opinion

(70–72) b (73–4) 11 (75–80)

58. If student protest movements regarding the topics listed below were initiated on your campus during your presence in college, what would have been (was) the most likely role that you would have taken (took) in each? Respond to *each* item by checking the appropriate space on the 5-point scale.

	Be actively involved 1	Contribute funds 2	Sympathetic but not active 3	Neutral 4	Opposed to movement 5
(1) Support of civil rights					
1d (2) Support of greater student involvement in determining campus policies					
1a (3) Opposition to the war in Vietnam					
1d (4) Opposition to dormitory regulations					
(5) Establishment of ethnic studies					
1a (6) Opposition to ROTC					
1a (7) Opposition to military research on campus					

59. Indicate your position on each of the following statements on campus activism by checking your response on the 5-point scale.

	Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Neutral or Don't Know 3	Agree 4	Strongly Agree 5
1a (8) Police should be used to control campus demonstrations.					
1a (9) Faculty members who take part in disruptive demonstrations on campus should be dismissed.					
1a (10) Most campus disturbances are caused by outside trouble-makers and professional agitators.					
-1d (11) Students charged with violations of campus rules have the right to be tried by a panel of their fellow students.					
-1a (12) Most of the actual violence in campus disorders is instigated by the use of police.					
(13) Minority groups should be in control of their own ethnic studies programs.					
1a (14) Students who disrupt the normal functioning of the campus by protest activities should be suspended or dismissed.					

60. Which one of the following statements best represents your view on the use of destruction of property for furthering political or social causes?

(15) 1 _____ Destruction of property is unjustified under any circumstances.
2 _____ Destruction of property is justified under some circumstances.
3 _____ Destruction of property is justified when the cause is just.

61. About how much interest would you say you have in national and world affairs?

-1h (16) 1 _____ A great deal
2 _____ A moderate amount
3 _____ Only a little
4 _____ None at all

62. **Considering social conflict within our society and its expression on certain campuses, to what degree do you feel confrontation tactics are necessary or effective? Check *one*.**

(17) 1 ____ In our form of society any form of confrontation is really unnecessary

2 ____ Peaceful petitioning, although less newsworthy, is more effective than demonstrations in the long run

3 ____ Non-violent mass protests or demonstrations are the only feasible way to persuade officials to respect the will of the people

4 ____ The use of disruptive tactics and the destruction of property is often necessary in order to change the status quo

5 ____ Although some may get badly hurt, actual physical confrontation and violence must, at times, be resorted to in order to effect social change

63. **How often have you actually engaged in the following political activities during the college years?**

		Never 1	Once or twice 2	Quite often 3
(18)	Attended a rally or public meeting protesting public policy			
(19)	Donated money to a cause			
(20)	Engaged in picketing or marching in behalf of a cause			
(21)	Worked actively in support of a cause by door-to-door canvassing, distributing leaflets, passing out petitions			
(22)	Served as an officer or member of a steering committee of a social action organization			
(23)	Worked on a project designed to help people who were poor or disadvantaged			
(24)	Worked full-time for a social cause or action organization			
(25)	Engaged in civil disobedience leading to arrest			

64. **Whether on or off campus, how many *very* close friends would you say that you have? Record the number in the space provided.**

(26–7) ____

65. **Of these friends, how many are, or were, students on this campus?**

(28–9) ____

66. **In terms of your three best friends here at school, how many of them have the same major as you:**

(30) 1 ____ None
2 ____ One
3 ____ Two
4 ____ Three

67. **And, how many of these same three friends live in the same residence as you?**

(31) 1 ____ None
2 ____ One
3 ____ Two
4 ____ Three

68. **Which best characterizes your present social relationships?**

(32) 1 ____ Have a wide circle of friends
2 ____ Have a few good friends
3 ____ Have acquaintances rather than really good friends

69. **Which of the following categories were the main interests of your closest friends in college? Record the appropriate two-digit category numbers in the space provided.**

10 Academic course work
11 Artistic endeavors
12 Athletics, sports
13 Clothes
14 Dances, parties
15 Drugs
16 Formal Religion
17 Hip nonconformity
18 Out-of-doors recreation
19 Political activity
20 School clubs and activities
21 Other; specify:

(33–8)

1	Most important main interest
2	Second most important
3	Third most important

all other = 4

70. **On the whole, how satisfied have you been with your social relations with fellow students on this campus?**

(39) 1 ____ Extremely satisfied
2 ____ Moderately satisfied
3 ____ Moderately dissatisfied
4 ____ Extremely dissatisfied

71. **When you had a troublesome personal problem and decided to seek good advice, which of the following people did you generally approach first? Check *one*.**

(40) 1 ____ A student friend here at college
2 ____ A friend off campus or at a different college
3 ____ One or both parents
4 ____ A faculty advisor or faculty member
5 ____ Dean of Students (Dean of Men, Dean of Women)
6 ____ Student counselor or psychiatrist
7 ____ A minister, priest or rabbi
8 ____ No one
9 ____ Other; specify:

72. **How many times, if ever, have you done the following during your college years?**

		Never 1	Once 2	Twice 3	Three or more times 4
(41)	Helped initiate a new course				
(42)	Taken an individual study course				
(43)	Taken an exam in lieu of a required course				
(44)	Participated in a study group among some of the students in a class				
(45)	Worked for a faculty member—grading papers, tutoring, doing research, etc.				
(46)	Served on a faculty-student committee within the college or department				
(47)	Written public statements regarding a campus issue				
(48)	Approached a faculty member or committee to discuss an educational or other campus issue				
(49)	Used any of the available counseling services on your campus				

73. Please estimate how often you are sought out by other students for your knowledge, advice or opinions regarding their course work or instructors.

(50) 1 ____ Rarely
2 ____ Sometimes
3 ____ Often
4 ____ Very often

74. What proportion of the faculty would you say is really interested in students and their problems?

(51) 1 ____ Very few
2 ____ Less than half
3 ____ About half
4 ____ Over half
5 ____ Almost all

75. In general, how descriptive of students in your own department or division is each of the following statements?

	Not descriptive 1	Somewhat 2	Very descriptive 3
(52) Have close working relationships with most faculty			
(53) Are included in departmental decision making process			
(54) Are invited to join faculty in social activities			
(55) Form discussion or study groups			
(56) Are divided into cliques around certain professors			
(57) Get together socially			
(58) Go their own individual ways			

76. Please think of the course that you enjoyed the most this past quarter or semester. During an average week, how many times did you ask a question, volunteer an answer, or make a remark in that course?

(59) 1 ____ Never
2 ____ One to three times
3 ____ Four to six
4 ____ Seven to nine
5 ____ Ten or more times

77. Students talk with faculty about a variety of topics outside the classroom. Please estimate how many different conversations with faculty members you have had during the last month. Count only conversations of 10 minutes or more.

Discussion about:	None 1	One or two 2	Three or four 3	Five or more 4
(60) Educational plans, problems or progress				
(61) Career plans or opportunities				
(62) A personal problem				
(63) Academic or intellectual issues				
(64) A campus or social issue				
(65) Informal, conversational matters only				

78. If you were to single out the most stimulating course you have taken at this institution--that is, the most exciting in terms of subject matter, perspective, or set of ideas—what course would that be?

(66) Course name:

Teacher: Dept.

	Yes 1	No 2
(67) Was this course required?		
(68) Was this course or instructor recommended to you by a student?		
(69) Have you recommended this course or instructor to others?		

(70–72) Is (73–4) 12 (75–80)

79. Please name the *one* faculty member at this institution who you feel has contributed *most* to your educational and/or personal development?

(1) Name Dept.

80. How descriptive of your relationship with *this* faculty member are each of the following statements?

He or she:	Not at all descriptive 1	Somewhat 2	Quite 3	Very descriptive 4
(2) Interested me in his/her field				
(3) Advised me about my career plans				
(4) Stimulated me intellectually				
(5) Counseled me about a personal problem				
(6) Made me aware of social issues				
(7) Encouraged me to inspect my values				
(9) Was available and open to any discussion				
(9) Helped me get a job or scholarship				
(10) Demanded high quality work from me				
(11) Helped me feel confident of my own abilities				
(12) Other (specify):				

81. How often have you had out-of-class contacts with *this* faculty member?

(13) 1 ____ Never or seldom
2 ____ Occasionally
3 ____ Quite often
4 ____ Frequently

82. How many courses have you taken with *this* faculty member?

(14) ☐ Indicate the number in the space provided.

83. If a faculty member at this college played a role in your choice of major, please name that person:

(15) Name Dept.

84. If you were to single out the most stimulating book you have read recently, what book would that be?

(16) Author:

Title:

85. Was this book required reading for a course?

(17) 1 ____ Yes
2 ____ No

86. *If* no, who recommended this book to you?

(18) 1 ____ A faculty member
2 ____ A teaching assistant
3 ____ A fellow student
4 ____ Someone else
5 ____ No one; found it myself

87. What one interest or activity outside of your classwork assignments has had first claim on your time during the past year?
(19)

88. Recent research reports show that students change in different ways and varying degrees during the college years. Some report changes in their interests and attitudes; some in political or religious commitments, some speak of major personality changes. Looking back over your own college career, what have been the most important changes for you?
(20)

89. What have been the *most significant* influences (events, persons, literature, etc.) on your thinking and life during the college years?
(21)

(22–72) b (73–4) 18 (75–80)

Thank you very much for your cooperation. If you have any comments you would like to make about the survey, please use the remaining space.

APPENDIX C

FACTOR LOADINGS OF THE OPI SCALES ON THE SENIOR OPI FACTORS AND THE OPI CHANGE FACTORS

Appendix C clarifies the meaning of the senior Omnibus Personality Inventory (OPI) factors and of the OPI change factors. For further details on the meaning of each of the 14 scales, the reader is referred to the OPI Manual.[1] Although group scores on all 8 OPI-related dimensions were available for interpretation, only those with footnote "a" were actually used in the 11 defining dimensions.[2]

---

[1] Omnibus Personality Inventory Manual (Form F) by Paul Heist and George Yonge (New York: The Psychological Corporation, 1962/1968). The Impulse Expression scale used here is 5 items longer than that in the manual.

[2] The OPI dimensions not used among the 11 basic dimensions tended to fall midway between the other emerging factors ["Expressive Intellectuality" and "Delta Plus (Responsible) Academic Intellectuality"], or further compound the problems of interpretation due to the initial level of freshman scores [both unused change factors], or add too much additional independence to the 11 dimension system [both unused change factors]. "Delta Plus (Responsible) Academic Intellectuality" was perhaps the next most salient factor beyond the 11 dimensions chosen to define the O-types.

Table 4. Varimax Rotation Factors of the 14 Scales of the Omnibus Personality Inventory (N = 614 Seniors)

OPI Scale	Factor[1] 1[a]	Factor 2[a]	Factor 3	Factor 4[a]	Senior Mean	Standard Deviation
Thinking Introversion	-.65	.19	.51	.03	26.86	7.39
Theoretical Orientation	-.44	.25	.34	.64	20.07	5.41
Estheticism	-.44	-.08	.65	-.24	14.13	5.15
Complexity	-.67	-.08	.49	.06	17.34	5.77
Autonomy	-.88	-.01	-.01	.02	33.32	6.41
Religious Orientation[b]	-.49	-.32	-.03	.46	17.06	5.03
Social Extroversion	.20	.50	.65	-.15	20.37	7.26
Impulse Expression	-.19	-.47	.70	.13	33.15	9.50
Personal Integration	-.02	.90	-.14	.01	33.72	10.31
Anxiety Level[b]	-.03	.79	-.09	.09	12.55	4.48
Altruism	-.37	.66	.25	-.38	21.75	5.59
Practical Outlook	.91	-.17	-.11	.07	10.05	5.72
Masculinity-Femininity	.30	.22	-.36	.74	27.30	6.19
Response Bias	-.03	.80	.09	.35	13.29	4.22
Percent of total communality	24.4	23.3	15.5	11.1		

[1]Factor titles: 1. Anti-Intellectual Authoritarianism
2. Good Adjustment (others-oriented); Positive Self-regard
3. Expressive Intellectuality
4. "Masculine" Scientificism

[a]These factors are constituents of Dimensions (conglomerates) 1,2, and 7, respectively.

[b]High scores on these two scales imply 1) Religious Liberalism and, 2) Lack of Anxiety (i.e., denial thereof).

Table 5. Varimax Rotation Factors of Senior-Minus-Freshman Difference Scores on the 14 Scales of the Omnibus Personality Inventory (OPI). N = 614 Senior-Freshmen.

OPI Scale	Factor[1] 1	Factor 2[a]	Factor 3	Factor 4[a]	Mean[2]	Standard Deviation
Thinking Introversion	.73	.16	-.30	.12	51.54	6.69
Theoretical Orientation	.80	-.02	.06	.14	50.60	4.96
Estheticism	.39	.01	-.64	.13	51.12	4.32
Complexity	.37	.06	-.49	.42	51.83	5.28
Autonomy	.23	.13	-.02	.78	56.97	6.31
Religious Orientation[b]	.12	-.12	.16	.74	53.32	5.09
Social Extroversion	-.16	.71	-.30	.13	48.16	5.93
Impulse Expression	-.10	-.12	-.40	.62	54.69	8.52
Personal Integration	.15	.76	.42	-.05	52.05	9.18
Anxiety Level[b]	.14	.69	.40	-.04	50.14	4.33
Altruism	.27	.68	-.29	-.08	50.43	4.84
Practical Outlook	-.62	-.17	.20	-.46	46.71	4.89
Masculinity-Femininity	.02	.04	.83	.07	49.37	5.13
Response Bias	.57	.44	.25	-.38	49.65	4.14
Percent of total communality	17.1	16.6	15.9	15.3		

[1]Factor titles:
1. Delta Plus (Responsible) Academic Intellectuality
2. Delta Plus Others-oriented Good Adjustment
3. Delta Plus "Masculine" Defensivity (personal & ideological)
4. Delta Plus Intellectual, Religious, and Conscious Autonomy

[2]A constant of 50.00 was added to each difference score.

[a]These factors were used as Dimensions 10 and 11 (respectively) of the 11 defining dimensions of the O-typology.

[b]High scores on these two scales imply 1) Religious Liberalism and, 2) Lack of Anxiety (i.e., denial thereof).

RELEVANT REFERENCES--CITED

Clark, Burton R.; Heist, Paul; McConnell, T. R.; Trow, Martin A.; and Yonge, George. *Students and Colleges: Interaction and Change* (Berkeley: Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, 1972).

Clark, Burton R.; and Trow, Martin A. *Determinants of College Student Subculture* (Berkeley: Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, 1972).

Feldman, Kenneth A.; and Newcomb, Theodore M. *The Impact of College on Students*, Vol. 1 (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969).

Frank, Austin C. *An Exploratory Study Toward a Multivariate, Test-based College Student Typology*. Unpublished dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1971.

Freedman, Mervin B. *The College Experience* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1967).

Gaff, Jerry G. et al. *The Cluster Colleges* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1970).

Goodman, Paul. *Growing Up Absurd* (New York: Random House, 1960).

Heist, Paul (Ed.). *Education for Creativity: A Modern Myth?* (Berkeley: Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, 1967).

Heist, Paul; and Yonge, George. *Omnibus Personality Inventory Manual (Form F)* (New York: The Psychological Corporation, 1968).

Jacob, Philip E. *Changing Values in College* (New York: Harper, 1957).

Meadows, Donella H.; Meadows, Dennis L.; Randers, Jørgen; and Behrens III, Williams W. *The Limits to Growth* (New York: Potomac Associates-Signet-New American Library, 1972).

Pettigrew, Thomas F. *A Profile of the Negro American* (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand, 1964).

Sanford, Nevitt (Ed.). *The American College* (New York: Wiley, 1962).

Trent, James; and Golds, Jenette. *Catholics in College* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967).

Trent, James; and Medsker, Leland L. *Beyond High School* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1968).

Tryon, Robert C.; and Bailey, Daniel E. *Cluster Analysis* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970).

RELEVANT REFERENCES--UNCITED

Agel, Jerome (Producer). *The Radical Therapist* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1971).

Becker, Ernest. *Beyond Alienation* (New York: George Braziller, 1967).

Berker, Ernest. *The Birth and Death of Meaning* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962).

Berne, Eric. *Games People Play* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1967). [1964]

Bhagavad-Gita (translated by Swami Prabhavananda and Christopher Isherwood) (New York: Mentor Books, 1951). [1944]

Brecher, Ruth; and Brecher, Edward (Eds.). *An Analysis of Human Sexual Response* (New York: Signet Books, 1966).

Chickering, Arthur W. *Education and Identity* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969).

Cirese, Sarah; and Koon, Jeff. "College Seniors View Campus Unrest and National Issues--Spring, 1970" (Berkeley: Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, 1970). [Mimeographed.]

Erikson, Erik H. *Childhood and Society* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1967). [1950]

Erikson, Erik H. *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1968).

Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth* (translated by Constance Farrington) (New York: Grove Press, 1966). [1963]

Frank, Jerome D. *Persuasion and Healing* (New York: Schocken Books, 1971).

Frankl, Viktor E. *Man's Search for Meaning* (Part I translated by Ilse Lasch) (New York: Washington Square Press, 1963). [1959]

Freud, Sigmund. *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (translated by James Strachey) (New York: Basic Books, 1962). [1905]

Fromm, Erich. *Man for Himself* (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett, 1965). [1947]

Fromm, Erich. *The Sane Society* (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett, 1966). [1955]

Galbraith, John Kenneth. *The Affluent Society* (New York: Mentor Books, 1964). [1958]

Griffin, John Howard. *Black Like Me* (New York: Signet Books, 1963). [1960]

Heilbroner, Robert L. *The Future as History* (New York: Grove Press, 1961). [1959]

Heilbroner, Robert L. *The Great Ascent: The Struggle for Economic Development in Our Time* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1963).

Jung, Carl G. (Ed.). *Man and His Symbols* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1969). [1964]

Kierkegaard, Søren. *Fear and Trembling and the Sickness unto Death* (translated by Walter Lowrie) (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1954). [1843]

Kohlberg, Lawrence. "The Development of Children's Orientations toward a Moral Order," *Vita Humana 6:* 11-33 (1963).

Laing, R. D. *The Divided Self* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Pelican/Penguin Books, 1967). [1960]

Laing, R. D. *The Politics of Experience and the Bird of Paradise* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1967).

Lowe, C. Marshall. *Value Orientations in Counseling and Psychotherapy* (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing, 1969).

Lowen, Alexander. *Love and Orgasm* (New York: Signet Books, 1967).

Marcuse, Herbert. *One-Dimensional Man* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968). [1964]

Maslow, Abraham H. *Toward a Psychology of Being* (2d ed.) (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1968). [1962]

Masters, Robert E. L.; and Houston, Jean. *The Varieties of Psychedelic Experience* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966).

Packard, Vance. *The Hidden Persuaders* (New York: Pocket Books, 1963). [1957]

Packard, Vance. *The Status Seekers* (New York: Pocket Books, 1961). [1959]

Patterson, C. H. *Theories of Counseling and Psychotherapy* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966).

Reich, Wilhelm. *The Function of the Orgasm* (translated by Theodore P. Wolfe) (New York: Bantam Books, 1967). [1942]

Rhine, Joseph Banks. *New Frontiers of the Mind: The Story of the Duke Experiments* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1937).

Riesman, David et al. *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958).

Rogers, Carl R. *Freedom to Learn* (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1969).

Roszak, Theodore. *The Making of a Counter-culture* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1969).

Sahakian, William S. (Ed.). *Psychotherapy and Counseling* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1970).

Schofield, William. *Psychotherapy: The Purchase of Friendship* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964).

Skinner, B. F. *Walden Two* (New York: Macmillan, 1962). [1948]

Wheelis, Allen. *The Quest for Identity* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1958).

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CRDHE Selections:

Public Universities, State Agencies, and the Law: Constitutional Autonomy in Decline, by L.A.Glenny and T.K.Dalglish. $4.50

The Compound System: A Conceptual Framework for Effective Decision-making in Colleges, by R.E.Helsabeck. $4.00

The Campus Senate: Experiment in Democracy, by H.L.Hodgkinson. $3.00

Educational Characteristics and Needs of New Students: A Review of the Literature, by E.L.Klingelhofer and L.Hollander. $4.25

From Elite to Mass to Universal Higher Education: The British and American Transformations, by T.R.McConnell, R.O.Berdahl, and M.A.Fay. $3.50

Boards of Trustees: Their Decision Patterns, by J.G.Paltridge, J.A.Hurst, and A.W.Morgan. $3.00

Students and Colleges: Interaction and Change, by B.R.Clark, P.Heist, T.R.McConnell, M.A.Trow, and G.Yonge. $4.50

The Faculty in University Governance, by T.R.McConnell and K.P.Mortimer. $3.50

The Redistribution of Power in Higher Education: Changing Patterns of Internal Governance, by T.R.McConnell. $2.50

Planning for Self-Renewal, by E.G.Palola and W.Padgett. $3.50

Evaluating University Teaching, by M.Hildebrand, R.Wilson, and E.Dienst. Included is 32 page *User's Manual and Sample Survey Instruments.* $2.00

Inventory of Current Research on Postsecondary Education 1972, by JB Hefferlin, M.J.Bloom, J.G.Gaff, and B.J.Longacre. $3.50

The Global Quest for Educational Opportunity, by L.L.Medsker. $3.00

Urban Multi-unit Community Colleges: Adaptation for the '70s, by E.G.Palola and A.R.Oswald. $3.00

The White House Conference on Youth: Three Task Force Papers, by W.B.Martin, H.L.Hodgkinson, and K.P.Cross. $2.00

Coordinating Higher Education for the '70s: Multi-campus and Statewide Guidelines for Practice, by L.A.Glenny, R.O.Berdahl, E.G.Palola, and J.G.Paltridge. $2.50

These publications are available from: Publications Department, Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, University of California, 2150 Shattuck Avenue - 5th Floor, Berkeley, California 94704.